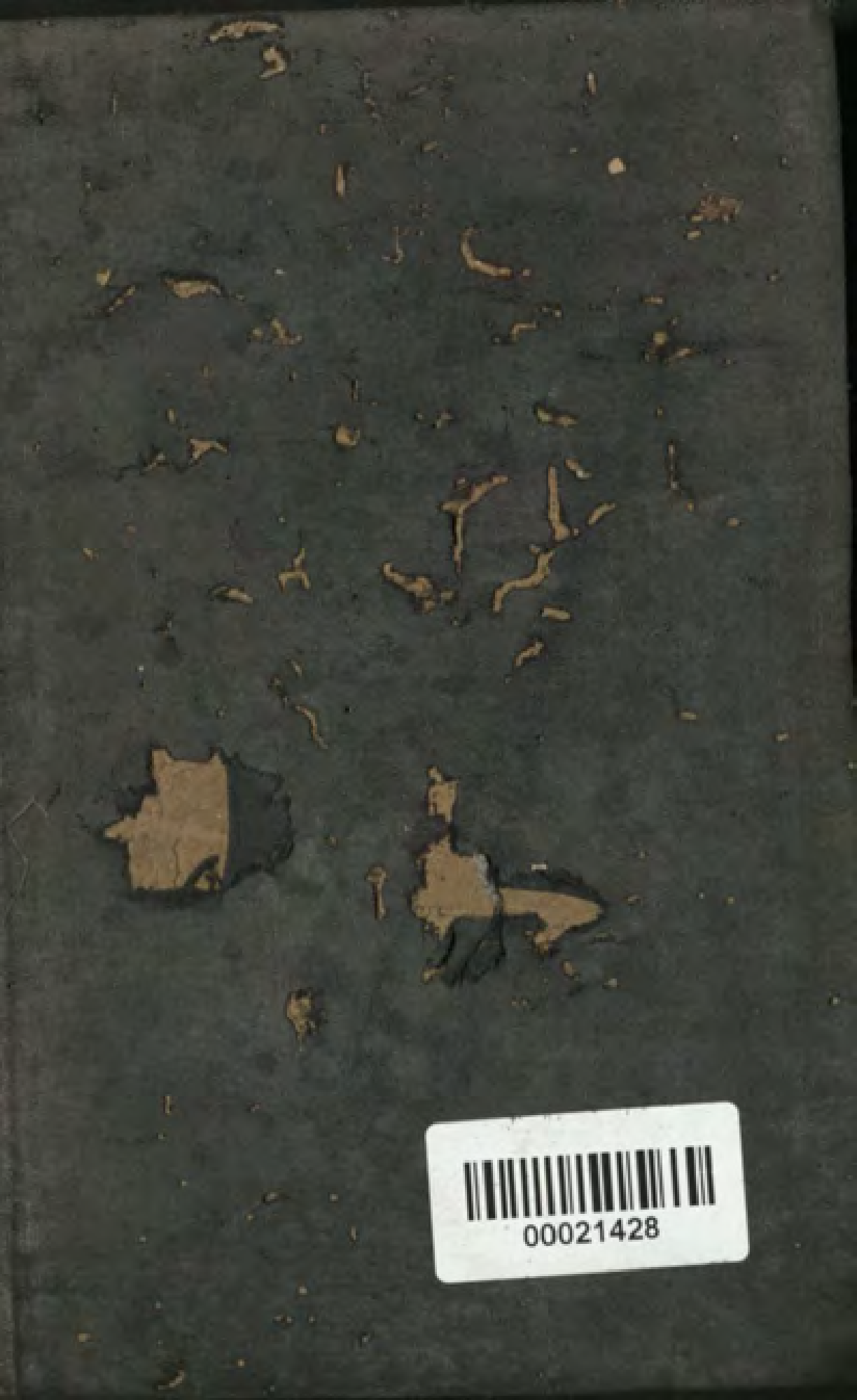
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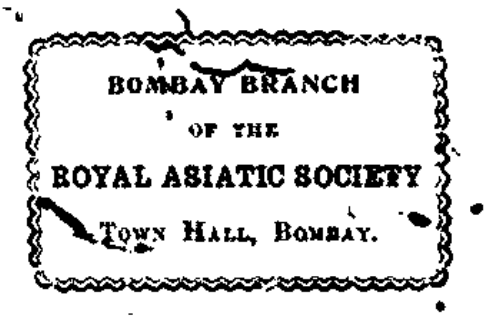

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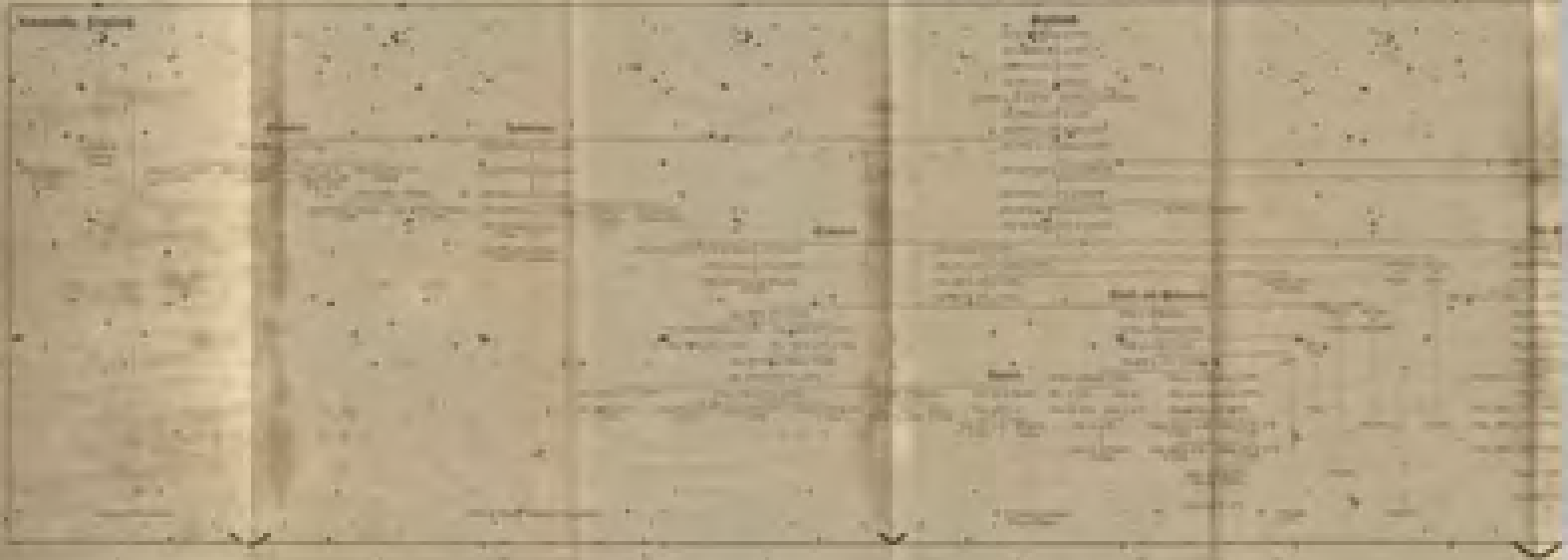

Lives of the Lindsays;

OR,

A MEMOIR OF THE HOUSES OF

CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES,

BY LORD LINDSAY.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

EXTRACTS FROM THE
OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF ALEXANDER SIXTH EARL OF BALCARRES,
DURING THE MAROON WAR;

TOGETHER WITH

PERSONAL NARRATIVES BY HIS BROTHERS,
THE HON. ROBERT, COLIN, JAMES, JOHN, AND HUGH LINDSAY;
AND BY HIS SISTER, LADY ANNE BARNARD.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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1849.

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" MY THOUGHTS ARE WITH THE DEAD; WITH THEM
I LIVE IN LONG-PASS'D-YEARS;
THEIR VIRTUES LOVE, THEIR FAULTS CONDEMN,
PARTAKE THEIR HOPES AND FEARS;
AND FROM THEIR LESSONS SEEK AND FIND
INSTRUCTION WITH AN HUMBLE MIND."

SOUTHEY.

" THE GLORY OF CHILDREN ARE THEIR FATHERS."

PROV. xvii. 6.

LIVES OF THE LINDSAYS.

ADDRESSED AND INSCRIBED

TO

SIR COUTTS AND MARGARET LINDSAY.

INTRODUCTORY LETTER.

My dearest Coutts and Margaret,

It was for your instruction and amusement that I undertook some years ago the compilation of the following Memoir of our family,—I now present it to you with every kind and affectionate wish.

Do not allow yourselves to fall into the common prejudice, that Genealogy is a dry uninteresting study—Lethe's wharf her paradise, and her votary dull as the weed that fattens there. The Spirit of Discovery breathes expectation as eager, and enjoyment as intense, into the heart of the enthusiastic Genealogist as into that of a Bruce or a Humboldt. His researches resemble theirs; he journeys, as it were, into the mountains of an unexplored land, where peaks beyond peaks bound the horizon as far as the eye can reach, their snowy pinnacles glittering in the sun, while clouds of darkness rest on their sides and conceal their bases. But, as he ascends, the clouds open to receive and disappear below him; and, while he is lost to the sight of those who watch him from the plain, the bonds by which those mighty thrones of Nature are allied are clearly revealed to him; peaks, hitherto undescried, arise to greet him as he advances; mountain-rills, whose accumulating waters spread verdure and fertility through other regions than those he has left behind, refresh him with their grateful murmur; while, wherever he wanders, the fruits of knowledge hang luxuriantly around him, in fragrant clusters, reserved for his hand alone to gather. Such, intellectually, is the pilgrimage of the Genealogist. He starts with a few isolated names in view—the sole remembrances that Time has spared of the race whose origin and early annals he is ambitious of elucidating. Rolls of charters are laid before him; he examines them one by one, his rapid eye recog-

nising at once, in the body or among the witnesses of the document, the one familiar name, the object of his inquiry. By his side lie the tablets wherein he registers each newly discovered clansman, with exact reference to the date and purport of the deed that testifies of his existence. Nothing wearies him. Chieftains start to light whose very names have been forgotten; the casual hint of relationship thrills through him—and if he unexpectedly light upon a charter to some holy shrine, the granter confirming the gifts of by-gone ancestors and adding to them himself, brothers and children consenting to the donation, and kinsmen witnessing it, his heart throbs, his cheek burns, and his hand quivers with rapture as he transcribes a document which at a glance reveals to him a long avenue of ancestral dead, eyeing him grimly through the gloom, like corpses in a vault of the Guanches. And then, with a quick and fevegish step, he hurries to his closet, and there, arranging his notes in chronological order, broods over them in silence, till a ray of light flashes from among them—the warriors of old time arise and defile before him; a patriarch leads the array, his children follow after him, and their sons and grandsons, gliding side by side, close the ghostly procession. Nor is it a mere dream, for they assume the very rank, and defile in the very order of time, in which the eye of the antiquary has just discovered that they lived.

—Is his task over? 'tis scarce as yet begun. Now let him invoke BIOGRAPHY—now let him emerge from night into day, from genealogical gloom into the blaze of history; now and henceforward let him accompany his chosen people—emancipated, like the American Indians, from the subterranean world their ancestors have so long dwelt in—through all their wanderings on this upper earth; chronicling their loves, their hates—their joys, their sorrows—their errors, their virtues; estimating their influence on the world they lived in, and deducing lessons of principle from their conduct and its consequences, which may be beneficial to hundreds yet unborn of emulating descendants.

There is, indeed, something indescribably sublime in the idea

of a race of human beings influencing society through a series of ages, either by the *avatars*, at distant intervals, of heroes, poets, and philosophers, whose names survive among us, familiar as household words, for centuries after their disappearance, or by the continuous development of genius, wisdom, and virtue through successive generations, till the name which has been thus immortalized becomes at last, through the experience of mankind, presumptive of worth in the individuals who bear it. A GENEALOGICAL BIOGRAPHY which should make us as intimately acquainted with such a race as if, like its guardian angel, we had watched over it from its birth, would surpass in interest the brightest pictures of romance, would be the most engaging portrait of human nature that, fallen as that nature is, the pencil of Truth could delineate.

Few, however, are the families whose annals the world would judge worthy of such investigation, and it is not therefore to the Public that I think Family History—to use the expression in its most dignified sense—should, in general, be addressed; it is not, I repeat, for public but private use, that I have compiled these 'Lives of the Lindsays.'

Every family should have a record of its own. Each has its peculiar spirit, running through the whole line, and, in more or less development, perceptible in every generation. Rightly viewed, as a most powerful but much neglected instrument of education, I can imagine no study more rife with pleasure and instruction.—Nor need our ancestors have been Scipios or Fabii to interest us in their fortunes. We do not love our kindred for their glory or their genius, but for those domestic affections and private virtues that, unobserved by the world, expand in confidence towards ourselves, and often root themselves, like the banian of the East, and flourish with independent vigour in the heart to which a kind Providence has guided them. And why should we not derive equal benefit from studying the virtues of our forefathers? An affectionate regard for their memory is natural to the heart; it is an emotion totally distinct from pride,—an ideal love, free from that consciousness of requited affection and reciprocal esteem

which constitutes so much of the satisfaction we derive from the love of the living. They are denied, it is true, to our personal acquaintance, but the light they shed during their lives survives within their tombs, and will reward our search if we explore them. Be their light, then, our beacon,—not the glaring light of heroism which emblazons their names in the page of history with a lustre as cold, though as dazzling, as the gold of an heraldic illuminator, but the pure and sacred flame that descends from heaven on the altar of a Christian heart, and that warmed their naturally frozen affections till they produced the fruits of piety, purity, and love, evinced in holy thoughts and good actions, of which many a record might be found in the annals of the past, would we but search for them, and in which we may find as strong incentives to virtuous emulation as we gather every day from those bright examples of living worth which it is the study of every good man to imitate.—And if the virtues of strangers be so attractive to us, how infinitely more so should be those of our own kindred, and with what additional energy should the precepts of our parents influence us, when we trace the transmission of those precepts from father to son through successive generations, each bearing the testimony of a virtuous, useful, and honourable life to their truth and influence, and all uniting in a kind and earnest exhortation to their descendants so to live on earth that—followers of Him through whose grace alone we have power to obey Him—we may at last be reunited with those who have been before and those who shall come after us,

"No wanderer lost,
A family in heaven!"

Unfortunately, that private history and those personal anecdotes which give a juster view of character than the pages either of the genealogist or the historian, must be sought for through so many ancient records and forgotten volumes, that, unless an industrious hand collect and class them in due order, much time would be lost and an ordinary curiosity wearied out in the inquiry. To supply this deficiency in the case of our own family has been my object in compiling the following memoir.—A compilation I advisedly

term it. Anxious to avoid the suspicion of undue partiality, I have studied to adduce the testimony of contemporaries to the individual merits of our forefathers, rather than indulge myself in those general estimates of character which it would be equally difficult for a critical reader to assent to or disprove. But I may bespeak for them, collectively, a favourable censure—I may even avow that I shall be disappointed if their chequered annals be deemed devoid of a useful and animating moral. You will find them in peace and war, "under the mantle as the shield," equally eminent, —brave warriors in the field, and wise statesmen in the cabinet; you will contemplate the grandeur which they attained in the hour of prosperity—the devotion with which they perilled all, when gratitude and duty demanded the sacrifice. You will follow them to their homes, and will there recognise many whom you may love—many whom, I hope, you will imitate; men, not ashamed of being Christians—women, meek and humble, yet in the hour of need approving themselves, in the highest sense of the word, heroines; while from the example of both you may, under God's blessing, learn the great, the all-important lesson, that conviction of our own utter unworthiness, and faith in the atonement and resurrection of our Redeemer, can alone give us peace in life, divest dissolution of its terrors, and hallow the remembrance of a death-bed to the survivors.

Be grateful, then, for your descent from religious, as well as from noble ancestors: it is your duty to be so, and this is the only worthy tribute you can now pay to their ashes. Yet, at the same time, be most jealously on your guard lest this lawful satisfaction degenerate into arrogance, or a fancied superiority over those nobles of God's creation, who, endowed in other respects with every exalted quality, cannot point to a long line of ancestry. Pride is of all sins the most hateful in the sight of God, and, of the proud, who is so mean, who so despicable as he that values himself on the merits of others?—And were they all so meritorious, these boasted ancestors? were they all Christians?—Remember, remember—if some of them have deserved praise, others have

equally merited censure,—if there have been "stainless knights," never yet was there a stainless family since Adam's fall. "Where then is boasting?"—for we would not, I hope, glory in iniquity.

> "Only the actions of the just
> Smell sweet and blossom in the dust!"

And, after all, what little reason has Europe to plume herself on ancestral antiquity! Not one of our most venerable pedigrees can vie with that of a Rajpoot of India or a Rechabite of the desert; nor is it but to our Christian birth that we owe a temporary superiority to the "dispersed of Judah" and the "outcasts of Israel," whose fathers bent before the Ark of the Covenant when ours were nameless idolaters, and whose seed will soon (if we read aright the signs of these latter times) be re-established in the "glorious land" of their sires, as the peculiar people of God and the priests of Christianity, when the times of the Gentiles shall have been fulfilled, and Judæa, no longer weeping under her palm-tree, shall have seen the vine of Christ overshadow the whole earth, one happy fold under one shepherd, in whose inheritance none but "the meek and lowly of heart" shall participate.

One word more.—Times are changed, and in many respects we are blessed with knowledge beyond our fathers, yet we must not on that account deem our hearts purer or our lives holier than theirs were. Nor, on the other hand, should we for a moment assent to the proposition, so often hazarded, that the virtues of chivalry are necessarily extinct with the system they adorned. Chivalry, in her purity, was a holy and lovely maiden, and many were the hearts refined and ennobled by her influence, yet she proclaims to us no one virtue that is not derived from and summed up in Christianity. The "Age of Chivalry" may be past—the knight may no more be seen issuing from the embattled portal-arch, on his barbed charger, his lance glittering in the sun, his banner streaming to the breeze—but the Spirit of Chivalry can never die; through every change of external circumstances, through faction and tumult, through trial and suffering, through good report and evil report, still that Spirit burns, like love,

the brighter and the purer—still, even in the nineteenth century, lights up its holiest shrine, the heart of that champion of the widow, that father of the fatherless, that liegeman of his God, his king, and his country—the noble-hearted but lowly-minded Christian gentleman of England.*

"Take, then," let me conclude with Sir Philip Sidney, "this little book; read it at your idle times, and so you will continue to love the writer, who doth exceedingly love you, and most heartily prays you may long live to be principal ornaments to the family of the" Lindsays.

1831—1836.

* This was written many years ago, in early youth. I would say now, as the result of observation both at home and abroad, that, if there is one characteristic of the Englishman more peculiar than another in every rank of society, it is the spirit of Chivalry—manifesting itself in deference for women, self-sacrifice in their cause, and in always taking the weaker side.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The interest excited by the following work in many who have read it in the original form, as circulated among my clan and friends, and the frequent applications for it which have reached me from public libraries, and even from beyond the Atlantic—some before, but most of them subsequently to, a recent review in the Quarterly—have determined me to publish it to the world in general:—And I have been confirmed in this resolution by the repeated proofs which have come to my knowledge of late years of a love and attachment to the name and race of Lindsay still lingering in Scotland among all classes—satisfying me that there at least, in my Fatherland, it will be received with welcome. But for the assurance of this national sympathy, I could scarcely have resolved upon withdrawing the curtain of privacy with which I had originally shrouded these 'Lives of the Lindsays.'

The plan and the principles on which the work was written are so fully explained in the Introductory Letter as almost to supersede the necessity of any further remarks. But as the book was addressed to readers presumed already to hold Genealogy in reverence, a few additional observations, unnecessary to such an audience, may not be uncalled for in submitting it to the public.

Nothing, as it appears to me, can be less rational than the vulgar scoff at pedigree and genealogy. The adage so constantly quoted by the antiquary, that no one who could fly claim to family antiquity ever despised it, undoubtedly meets with exceptions; but a reverence for the past, and a desire to establish a connection between it and self, are instinctive in human nature. And if instinctive, then, rightly directed, they must be ennobling principles. "Whatever," says our great moralist, "withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings:"—I do not see why this sentiment might not have originated under the ruined towers of the De Veres or Percies, as well as among the cloistered cells of Iona. It is a mistake to suppose that the old feudal barons were uniformly worthless, tyrannical, unintellectual despots. Some of them undoubtedly were so, and those too of whom most is heard in history, and from whose character consequently the modern idea of the whole class is taken. But many of them, on the contrary, were worthy of all esteem and affection, courteous, frank, refined, kind, and Christian. Moreover, in the common estimate of those times, we almost entirely overlook the softening and endearing influence of woman, and the happiness diffused, then as well as now, around the places where she dwelt. We are apt to think of the ladies of chivalry merely as spectators at the tournament, forgetting that, for ten or twenty days of the year passed in such scenes, they spent the three hundred and fifty in the charities of home. Descent

therefore from one of the great historical families of Europe—or even from the less illustrious—or even from a mere line of respectable, undistinguished progenitors, when considered as a chain establishing a connection with the past—may well be considered as a valuable heritage, a source of lawful satisfaction, an influential though subordinate principle in the formation of character and the regulation of conduct through life. Few who have studied human nature will dispute this. The inheritance of an illustrious name may have but a slight influence in restraining a bad man from the commission of a dishonourable action, but there cannot be a doubt of its invigorating influence on those who are worthy to bear it; it is an incentive to virtue, to emulation, to consistency,—and God forbid that in days like these we should cut away one sapling, however weak, which may assist us in climbing the rough, and rocky, and hilly path of honour and virtue which is set before us. At the same time, the sluggish—those who are disposed to rest their claims to consideration on the merit of their ancestry, and not their own individual activity—should remember Sir Thomas Overbury's pithy sarcasm on such characters, that they resemble 'potatoes, of which the only valuable portion is under ground. It was in truth a noble saying of the late Lord Clarendon, that birth conveyed no merit, but much duty, to its inheritor.

I make no apology therefore for Genealogy,—and even in a lower and merely intellectual point of view, as supplying many an hiatus in the page of early history, as unveiling many a secret spring which, unseen and unsuspected, has influenced the revolutions of human affairs, and as throwing no scanty ray on the spirit and manners of the past, she may stand fearless before the altar of Time, by the side of History, though on the step below her. While, intricate as are the mazes into which she leads her votaries, there is a pleasure in threading them to be appreciated only by those who have experienced the thrilling interest awakened by the exercise of Reason, Imagination, Intelligence, and Memory, all working together in the investigation of Truth—perpetually occupied in fresh researches, and making new discoveries.—But I have expatiated sufficiently, in the Letter above alluded to, on the intellectual pleasures of Genealogy.

Till lately indeed, more especially in Great Britain and North of the Tweed, Genealogy merited the ridicule which was so freely lavished on her. It is but a few years ago since the most unfounded fictions were currently believed as to the origin of the Scottish families. The Stuarts were universally held to be the descendants of Banquo—the Douglasses of the "dark grey man" who fought under King Solvathius against the Danes,—it would be endless to enumerate all the fictions with which vanity and flattery peopled the blank of time; they are now forgotten,—all, save the beautiful legend of the patriarch Hay at Lonearty, on which Milton in his youth proposed to found a drama, and which has been immortalized by its adoption by Shakspeare into the plot of 'Cymbeline.'

A new era in Genealogy commenced with the present century. The ancient records of the kingdom were published, private papers and monastic chartularies were brought to light, charter-evidence was insisted upon as the test

of descent,—and the first-fruits of this new critical spirit was the discovery of the real ancestors of the Stuarts and Douglasses, by the indefatigable Chalmers. It was in fact the application of Criticism to the last stronghold of historical prejudice,—and at the first touch of the battering-ram the unsubstantial bulwarks crumbled into dust. The spirit thus awakened has given birth to a race of historical antiquaries and genealogists, most conscientious, industrious, erudite, and acute; and to many of them, but especially to my friend

JOHN RIDDELL, ESQ., ADVOCATE,

whose name will be so frequently mentioned in the following pages, I have been indebted for most valuable assistance—assistance which has enabled me materially to improve these 'Lives of the Lindsays,' to rectify errors, supply omissions, and in short render them in all respects, I trust, more worthy of the favour they have been honoured with hitherto.*

The multitude of historical works issued by the Bannatyne, Maitland, and other antiquarian book-clubs, within the last twelve years, have also been of great service to me in revising these volumes.

For my views of the manner in which it appears to me that Family History ought to be compiled, I may refer to my Introductory Letter so frequently alluded to, and will only add my conviction, that till the fact be recognized that, probably through an organization originally the same, an hereditary character is common in more or less development to all the individuals descended from the same stock—beginning, if the reader will, from Noah, but restricting the common character, first to Japhet and his descendants, then to whichever branch of those descendants history and philology may more

* Among the friends to whom I have been thus obliged, may be mentioned—in anticipation of more special acknowledgments, scattered through the following pages—the following gentlemen:—James Donaldson, Esq., of that Ilk, Advocate,—William Fraser, Esq., W.S., of 11, Forres Street, Edinburgh,—Cosmo Innes, Esq., Sheriff of Moray,—David Laing, Esq., Librarian to the Writers of the Signet, and Secretary to the Bannatyne Club,—Alex. Macdonald, Esq., of the Register House,—James Maidment, Esq., Advocate,—Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H.,—Robert Pitcairn, Esq., W.S.,—Joseph Robertson, Esq., of 12, Abbotsford Place, Glasgow,—Alex. Sinclair, Esq.,—W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq., Advocate,—and John Whitehead, Esq., of 84, Great King Street, Edinburgh:—With whom I may associate in this general expression of acknowledgment, the Rev. William Gregor, of Boshill, the Rev. Harry Stuart, of Oathlaw or Finhaven, and the Rev. George Walker, of Kinnell, as having furnished me with valuable information regarding their respective localities:—Nor must I omit to acknowledge the advantage derived to these Lives from the courtesy of the Earl of Eglinton, the Earl of Glasgow, the Earl of Fife, the Lord Forbes, Lord Gray, Lord Torphichen, Lord Panmure, Sir George Warrender, Bart., of Lochend, W. F. Lindsay Carnegie, Esq., of Spynie, Fred. Fetheringham, Esq., as guardian for his nephew, the young Laird of Powrie, and George MacNeal, Esq., of Ugadale, in entrusting my father with valuable papers for the prosecution of his claim to the Earldom of Crawford; and from that of Sir John Ogilvie, Bart., of Inverquharity, of Sir Robert K. Dick Cuninghame, Bart., of Prestonfield, and of Sir Charles Ross, Bart., of Balnagowan, in communicating interesting documents preserved in their respective repositories. My obligations to members of my own clan have been too manifold for enumeration here.—I have also profited by the collection of ancient Scottish seals, formed by Mr. Henry Laing, seal-engraver, 25, Clyde Street, Edinburgh,—a very worthy and deserving man, whose casts in glass of ancient seals are beautiful in themselves, and invaluable for perpetuating such fragile memorials of the past to future ages.

peculiarly fix upon as the progenitors of the Teutonic race, and so downwards till the period when hereditary surnames became distinctive of particular families throughout Europe—that till this principle, I repeat, be recognized and adopted as the basis of disquisition, Family History will never rise or deserve to rise to the intellectual dignity it might otherwise attain to. It is not a little curious indeed, that, in Scotland at least, philosophy has been anticipated in this conclusion by common usage and experience. To each of the great historical families of Northern Britain its presumed peculiar characteristic has for ages been popularly assigned in alliterative epithets—their gaiety to the Gordons, their doughtiness to the Douglasses, their gallantry to the Grahams, their lightsomeness, or buoyant cheerfulness, to the Lindsays—epithets proverbial North of the Tweed, and so many keys to the character of the tribes to which they are applied, so many germs of that philosophy of genealogy which I would fain see more fully investigated and practically applied. It is indeed my anxious hope that histories may be hereafter written of the great families of Britain and of Europe, on a plan similar to that which I have accomplished for "mine own people." Were the public and private annals of the Douglasses, Hamiltons, Seytons, Grahams, Maitlands, &c., of Scotland, those of the Nevilles, Courtenays, Howards, Percies, Greys, Stanleys, Talbots, and Seymours of England, and those of the Fitzgeralds, Butlers, De Courcys, and the royal races of Ireland, illustrated in a similar manner, by the stores of original documents in the possession of their representatives, and with a view to the ascertainment and elucidation of the psychological characteristic of each race, as above stated, the result would be not merely morally beneficial to each of the families so commemorated, but creative of an entirely new class of literature, far from devoid of public interest or unconducive to the public benefit. That the circulation of the 'Lives of the Lindsays' has in more than one instance suggested the undertaking of similar compilations, is a fact that has afforded me the sincerest gratification, as a pledge that this aspiration may not fall to the ground.

Two final observations occur to me in closing these preliminary pages.—In a work like the following there must of necessity be much that is not merely amusing,—much which, detachedly considered, may appear trifling and unworthy of insertion, and, to use the common phrase, "interesting only to the family." But—omitting the plea that it was for the family in the first instance that the work was written—this objection would apply equally to painting, poetry, history—in short, to every species of composition of which the moral lies in a general result. Any one on reflection will perceive how much this is the case in Biography. It is only during part of a life that the hero is the foremost agent, yet it is necessary briefly to detail the events in which he bears a subordinate part, and even those that immediately precede his entrance on the arena of action, in order to enable the reader to appreciate his conduct and influence when he does appear. And when the biography is that of a family considered as an individual, the same necessity recurs; there are periods of preparation, periods of activity, periods of repose,—births, deaths, and marriages thus acquire extrinsic and collateral interest; and in

this manner of viewing things, the weight which mere adherence leads to a good or a bad cause ought not to be disregarded.

On the other hand, as, in the history of an individual, public events are represented with more or less prominence according to the share the individual has in them—are, in short, grouped round the hero, though that hero may have been a hero only to very partial eyes; and yet no one is offended at what is implied in the primary conditions of such delineation,—even so is it with the history of a family; such incidents as the family mingle in must be brought prominently forward, the family must ever be painted conspicuously on the canvas, must assume a corresponding prominence in the narrative—exaggerated and untrue if the biography be misunderstood as history, but justifiable and inevitable under the conditions presupposed.—Without this forewarning, it might appear to the reader of the following 'Lives' as if the history of the Lindsays were that of their country, as if I had attributed to them undue influence and importance,—but they assert no preeminence above their peers, the historical baronage of Scotland.—Of the character of the race thus commemorated, and of their claim to such commemoration, it would behove me to say somewhat were I not their kinsman as well as their biographer,—the one character impels me to speech, the other to silence; and my readers will forgive me that I yield to the latter impulse.

St. Germain-en-Laye, 21 *Sept.* 1847.

Since the above was written, the 'Lives of the Lindsays' have been reviewed at some length in the *Journal des Débats* by M. Philarète Chasles, the brilliant and learned author of the 'Etudes sur l'Antiquité,' 'Sur le Moyen Age,' &c. &c. His criticism is interesting from the point of view in which he regards the work, as a symptom and symbol of the mind of the North, and as expressive of the effort which, in his opinion, the Aristocratic spirit is making at the present moment to associate itself with the principle of progress, without forfeiting its own cherished traditions and recollections. A few paragraphs may be here subjoined,—and I do not deny that I have great pleasure in citing the testimony of a distinguished foreigner to the interest of the characters whose 'Lives' I have delineated, and of whom I may say in apology, as the Persian poet of his friends,

> "They are a string of pearls, and I
> The silken thread on which they lie."

[1] On lit à la tête de cet ouvrage sacerdotique un panégyrique enthousiaste et ingénieux de l'esprit de race et des vertus ou des qualités qui en découlent. Lord Lindsay n'admet pas plus que nous une aristocratie sans mérite; il veut, en conservant la chevalerie, qu'elle ne dégénère pas, et il dit que, si elle est éteinte comme institution, elle se survit à elle-même, à titre d'héroïsme qui se chargera de défendre la patrie, le pauvre, le faible, et l'opprimé. Ce sont des idées généreuses et justes en partie seulement; car il n'est permis à personne de confondre la défense des inférieurs avec la sympathie pour ses égaux; le sentiment de l'égalité moderne est un sentiment tout nouveau, né d'une philosophie qui n'a pas donné ses fruits; sentiment contraire à la hiérarchie féodale dont la féconalité est épuisée. Chez Lord Lindsay, l'esprit aristocratique ou de famille, allié aux travaux du présent, à ses espérances, à son activité, à ses conquêtes, se montre sous son

meilleur jour et dans son intensité la plus énergique. Non seulement l'orgueil de l'hérédité, mais le dernier effort de l'esprit écossais s'y manifeste tel qu'il s'est développé chez les nations Celtiques et les peuples septentrionaux, surtout en Ecosse. Nous disons tout à l'heure ce que nous pensons de cet esprit de famille et de race, qui a fait de bien grandes choses, et qu'il faut remplacer, non maintenir. »

« Ces grandes choses ont été fort mêlées, comme il arrive toujours, et selon la condition de l'humanité, qui ne sera jamais parfaite; la lecture des charmants Mémoires des Lindsays ne confirme pas absolument la thèse de l'auteur en faveur des vertus inévitables de l'aristocratie. Il y a d'excellentes gens, et c'est la majorité, parmi les Lindsays; il y a aussi de fort mauvais sujets dans le nombre,—et ce sont les plus intéressants, parce qu'ils sont dramatiques. . . .

« Ces Lindsays parlent eux-mêmes, qui en langue Ecossaise, qui en Anglais du quinzième siècle, et avec une rusticité assez mordante, ceux-ci en Français ou en Anglais du temps de Pope; il y a parmi eux des coquettes, des prudes, des conspirateurs, des voyageurs, des puritains, cela doit être; tous ont des romans particuliers, la plupart des mines fières et aventureuses qui font plaisir à voir. En les parcourant vite, on ressent quelque chose de cette délicate jouissance d'une soirée d'automne passée à oublier les réalités et à parler aux ombres au milieu des portraits de Versailles. Le roman est là, et la vérité aussi, ou du moins ce que l'on croit vrai. On aime à savoir qu'il y a eu des hommes qui ont réellement vécu et agi ainsi: on les retrouve avec joie dans ce demi-jour du passé. Voilà des tragédies et des contes qui n'ont besoin d'aucune mise en œuvre; comme ces agates dont les veines figurent, sans que l'artiste y ait aidé, de singuliers paysages, des vallées solitaires, des forêts sombres, et des clairières baignées de soleil. Le livre de Lord Lindsay produit à peu près sur le lecteur cet effet poétique et réel.

« Les mieux dérés, les plus héroïques, les plus sages de ces personnages sont aussi ceux qu'il est le plus agréable de lire; il ne faut pas croire les gâtés, qui calomnient la finesse et la force de l'esprit, et n'estiment que les ennuyeux. Tacite, Voltaire, et Bacon sont fort amusants; Alexandre et César le sont aussi. Les Lindsays le sont souvent.

« Dans la race des Lindsays il y a quelques personnages ordinaires et sans valeur, comme toujours; il y en a beaucoup de curieux, d'importuns, d'originaux, qui signalent l'époque où ils vivaient et la marquent d'une empreinte puissante: vrai personnages de Walter Scott. . . .

« Les mœurs brillantes et aventureuses de la cour de Charles II., la sévère économie de la vieille Ecosse, traditions, légendes, réalités, débris de lettres d'amour—s'entremêlent, dans ces récits de famille, d'une manière fort divertissante; c'est la vie elle-même et son rayon bizarre ou comique, traversant les faits les plus tragiques comme un rayon joyeux dans la nuit. . . .

« Parmi ces petits faits, souvent mystérieux et qui n'intéressent que la famille, il y en a qui ont de la valeur pour l'histoire: les sympathies ou les antipathies politiques de l'Ecosse s'y trahissent naïvement; on y voit, par exemple, que les Ecossais aimaient Charles Ier comme Stuart, et qu'ils le détestaient comme demi-calviniste; on y voit qu'ils exécraient Guillaume III. comme homme, et qu'ils l'estimaient comme chef dévoué du protestantisme en Europe. Mais le livre est surtout curieux à titre de symptôme; il représente non seulement l'aristocratie sur la défensive et l'invincible adhérence des Ecossais à la famille et à la généalogie, mais la vénération du passé, la superstitieuse conservation des souvenirs, des faits, des moindres détails; caractères spéciaux de certaines races du nord.

« Le fait, dont les hommes du midi s'occupent assez peu, est pour les hommes du nord l'objet d'une étude attentive. Il n'y a pas d'histoire chez les Indiens, qui font de l'histoire naturelle un symbole, et tant le monde soit que leur géographie est chimérique

comme leurs annales. Si vous traversez le diamètre entier du globe terrestre, vous rencontrez au point opposé, là où les glaces du pôle vont commencer, le peuple le plus historique qui existe, celui qui vit exclusivement dans le passé, les Islandais, qui touchent par les origines aux Allemands et aux Anglais. Il n'y a pas de souvenir dont cette petite nation n'ait gardé religieusement la trace et l'empreinte : les laboureurs et les pêcheurs de la côte répètent les sagas et se rappellent le nom, la généalogie, et les actes de leurs vieux Rois. Il semble que le passé domine celles des familles humaines qui sont forcées à la concentration de l'esprit et aux fatigues du corps ; pour elles, la mort est toujours présente et redoutable. Les races du midi au contraire, qui vivent du présent et dans le présent, ont assez peu de soin de leurs morts et de leur passé ; ou, quand elles s'occupent du passé, elles le transforment. La minutieuse réalité des annales de l'Islande est prouvée par les dates et par l'enchaînement logique ; tout y est vrai ; mais je ne crois pas grand'chose de la légende mythologique Grecque ; il est fort possible que, depuis Oreste jusqu'à Lycurgue, pas un mot ne soit vrai. Pergame ne me semble pas plus historique que Ménélas ; Agamemnon que Saturne : cet admirable mensonge né de l'imagination et de la sensibilité, palais de nuées magiques, est d'ailleurs plus solide que s'il eût été bâti de marbre. Ce sont des considérations générales qu'il est inutile de développer ici ; remarquons seulement l'étroite parenté de l'esprit aristocratique et des souvenirs de l'histoire, de l'esprit de famille, et de la religion du passé. La conservation des moindres détails historiques, perpétrée par l'aristocratie du nord dans le dessein avoué de glorifier une famille et de protéger le système des races nobles et de la hiérarchie chevaleresque, ne nous étonnera plus ; et le livre de Lord Lindsay s'expliquera de lui-même, non par la seule vanité de gentilhomme, mais par un autre ordre d'idées infiniment plus estimable.

" L'orgueil de race, évidemment attaqué dans ses derniers asiles, apporte ses titres pour résister à l'esprit nouveau ; il sent la nécessité de se défendre historiquement contre l'égalité devenue maîtresse des destinées ; l'aristocratie la plus exclusive de l'Europe, forcée de se mettre sur la défensive, s'arme de son grand bouclier, et y montre inscrites en guise de blason des preuves de courage et de services rendus. C'est un honorable exemple et en même temps une transformation importante que cette fusion des deux génies, l'un populaire et qui marche en avant, l'autre exclusif et qui regarde les temps écoulés ; l'un qui ne reconnaît de distinction que le mérite actif, l'autre qui se rejette sur le passé pour protéger l'avenir. Il est vrai que le génie du passé est toujours le génie vaincu, et que le livre de Lord Lindsay, tout rempli de sentiments fiers et de souvenirs glorieux, est néanmoins un hommage au monde nouveau."—PHILARÈTE CHASLES.

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LIVES OF THE LINDSAYS.

CHAPTER I.

"Who that antique stories reads
Consider may the famous deeds
Of our nobill progenitours;
Whilk should to us be right mirrours,
Their virtuous deedis to ensue,
And vicious living to eschew?"

* * * * *

"Lindesays all, ane surname of renown."

SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF THE MOUNT.*

SECTION I.

VARIOUS accounts were formerly current concerning the origin of the Lindsays,—one deriving them from a warrior who had assisted King Kenneth MacAlpine in his conquest of the Picts,†—another from Grim MacDuffus, King of Scotland at the close of the tenth century, and grandfather of the fabulous Banquo,‡—and a third from the Saxon Earl of Lindeseye in Lincolnshire, who, after an unavailing resistance to the Conqueror, found

* In my citations from old writers throughout these 'Lives,' I have (as a general rule) adopted the modern orthography, except in the case of words etymologically different. I would not however be understood to deprecate the preservation of the ancient spelling in compilations of a less popular character.

† "The first man of the surname, whilk was callit Lindsay, (ane proper name then to him, whilk now is the surname of our clan,) Kenneth II., son to Alpin, rewarded with large bounds and lands in this country for his guid counsel and sovereign manheed in the overthrowing of the Pyghtis (Picts)." *Speech of Alex. 4th Earl of Crawford to James II.*, 1455, *ap. Boeth.*, lib. xviii., translated by Pitscottie.—See also the 'Dignity of the Scottish Peerage vindicated,' Edinb. 4to. 1719, p. 18,—a tract in which the history of the Lindsays is selected and commented upon, as a sufficient illustration of that dignity,—which may be a *primâ facie* apology for the publication of the present work.

‡ MS. *Genealogy, dated* 1623, in the Haigh Muniment-room.

refuge, along with Edgar Atheling and his sister Margaret, at the court of Malcolm Caenmore.* But documentary evidence is the only test of truth in genealogical research, and these legends, like those that obscured the origin of the Douglasses, Hays, Stuarts, and other Scottish families, have been swept away for ever by the scythe of historical criticism.

Walter de Lindsay, an Anglo-Norman, who figures as a magnate or great baron under David I., Prince of Strathclyde or Cumbria, before his accession to the throne, is the first of our name who appears in Scotland.† He is a witness and juror in the celebrated 'Inquisitio' or inquest of Prince David into the possessions and rights of the see of Glasgow within his territories, in 1116.‡ The surname De Lindsay, however, is territorial, and derived from a property of which Walter was not in possession,—he had inherited it therefore from a father contemporary with the Conqueror. That father might appear to have been Angodus de Lindsay, a Norman gentleman, who bestowed one hundred acres, then styled a carucate of land,§ in free gift, "for the love of God and of St. Alban," on the monastery of that Saint, shortly after the installation of the Abbot Paul in 1077.‖ But Angodus too,

* Rolt's *Life of John 20th Earl of Crawford*, 4to. 1753, p. 24.—Wyntown, the Prior of Lochleven, who wrote c. 1420, expresses a prudent uncertainty as to their origin:—

"Of England come the Lyndysay,
Mair of them can nocht say."

—*Chron.* B. viii. 7, 159.

† For the proofs of [illegible] descent and consanguinity, as laid down in this opening chapter and the [illegible] Degree, see the Appendix, No. I.

‡ 'Inquisitio [illegible]' printed in the 'Registrum,' or Chartulary [illegible] de Terris Ecclesie Glasguensis,' printed in the 'Registrum,' or "oldest [illegible] Glasgow, tom. i. p. 7.—Mr. Riddell considers this Inquisitio the he says [illegible] authentic Scottish document extant." *Stewartiana*, p. 109.—The Lindsays, peerage [illegible] elsewhere, "can thus prove a higher antiquity than any in our (the Scottish) p. 977 [illegible], by means of authentic evidence." *Peerage and Consistorial Law*, tom. ii.

§ [illegible] In "Herdreshille"—a place not mentioned in Domesday Book, and therefore probably in that part of England not described in that survey, which included Northumberland, great part of Cumberland, the north of Westmoreland, and Durham,—this would approximate Angodus to Scotland. At the same time "Hardreshull" in Warwickshire is mentioned by later authorities.

‖ Ancient list of the "Nomina Benefactorum," in a MS. of the Cottonian Library, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, tom. ii. p. 220.*—Angodus is the only Lindsay on record of the generation strictly contemporary with William the Conqueror and Malcolm Caenmore.

* I always cite the last edition of Dugdale, in eight folio volumes.

for the like reason, must have derived the surname from a still remoter ancestor, a De Lindsay whose Christian name has not come down to us, and who must have been born during the earlier half of the eleventh century.*

This will appear on enquiry where the "Lindsay" is, from which the surname was derived. There is no district or territory of that name in Scotland,—there is but one in England,† that of Lindeseye, or Lindesey, in Lincolnshire, formerly of much greater extent than now, yet still constituting a third part of the county. But the Lindsays had no property in Lincolnshire in early times, nor any connection with it till long after their settlement in Scotland—it belonged to a distinct race of proprietors,‡ and they could not therefore have derived their name from it. Nor is there any barony, lordship, or property of smaller note, bearing the name of Lindsay, either in France or Normandy. What seemed therefore, at first sight, of most easy ascertainment, proves in the second step a matter of some difficulty,—and this is the more surprising, as Walter and his descendants clung to their name with a tenacity most singular and unusual in those early days, when surnames, except in the very highest families, were taken up and abandoned with almost utter indifference.

Nevertheless the difficulty is not unsusceptible of solution.

There appears, in fact, every reason to believe that the Scottish Lindsays are a branch of the Norman House of Limesay—long since extinct in the direct male line both in Normandy and England, but which for several generations held a distinguished station, more especially in the latter country. The names Lindesay and Limesay are identical, both of them implying "Isle of

* "The name of a barony," says a high authority, "was exclusively used by its possessors and their descendants; and the possession of a territorial name of barony as surely marks out a descent from some of the ancient barons, as if every step of the genealogy could be proved." Skene's *History of the Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 141.

† The "manor of Lindsay in Essex," spoken of by genealogists, neither does nor ever did exist. The De Limesays, presently to be spoken of, and their Lindsay successors, had large property in Essex, which may have given rise to the error.

‡ The De Gaunts, Earls of Lincoln. Gilbert de Gaunt, the ancestor of the race, had a hundred and thirteen lordships in the county. Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i. p. 498.—They have the style of Lords of Lindsey in old heraldic MSS, and I at one time thought the Lindsays must have descended from one of their younger sons.

Limetrees,"*—they are frequently interchanged, and applied to the same individuals, not merely in the heraldic MSS. of two hundred years ago,† but in ancient public records,‡ and in the early transcripts of Battle Abbey Roll,§—on the failure of the direct line of Limesay in England, when their estates devolved on two coheiresses, the head of the Scottish Lindsays appears to have been selected to marry one of them,—and Scottish Lindsays, not descended from the marriage, bore the same arms as the De Limesays, gules, an eagle displayed, or, at a period long subsequent,‖—while the Limesay eagle was still traceable in the armorial bearings of the House of Crawford in the middle of the fourteenth century.¶ Etymology, history, and heraldry therefore alike point to this conclusion—the Limesay origin of the Lindsays.**

The original Norman Sires de Limesay were seated at the place so called, in the "Pays de Caux," near Pavilly, five leagues

* "Lindes-eye, Limes-eye."—The "linden" is the old English word for the limetree. In the Chartulary of the Priory of St. Andrews, the name of one of the witnesses is written "Symon de *Lindesay*," not later than 1211. *Regist. Prior. S. Andr.*, p. 291.—For the various modes in which the name Lindsay has been spelled, see the Appendix, No. II.

† In, e.g., the manuscripts Ff. 2, 27; Kk. 1, 7, in the Public Library of Cambridge,—and others innumerable elsewhere. Galfridus de Limesay, younger son of Randolph and Hawisa, who gave, conjointly with his mother, the church of Besleis (Bewly), in Worcestershire, to the Priory of Alcester, (Dugd. *Mon.*, tom. v. p. 172,) is always described in these works as "Geoffrey Lord Lindsay," among the nobility of William Rufus. The arms of "Lindsay alias Limesay," variously differenced, are also constantly found in them.

‡ *Lit. Claus.*, pp. 384, 386, 387; *Testa de Nevill*, p. 168, 169.

§ See, e.g., the copy printed in Duchesne's *Hist. Normannorum Scriptores*, or that in Hollinshed.

‖ See the arms of Sir Philip and Sir Simon de Lindsay among 'Les noms e les armes a baneroz de Engletere,'—a roll of arms of the reign of Edward II., edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, p. 86.

¶ It appears as the *tenant* or supporter of the shield of Sir David Lindsay of Crawford, on his seal of arms appended to a charter dated 5 Jan. 1343-6, in the charter-chest of Sir George Warrender, Bart. It is engraved in the plate of seals prefixed to this chapter.

** This was first suggested to me by that distinguished antiquarian and my hereditary friend, the late Mr. Merritt of Rokeby.

* "That name (Limesay) is in some identical, and in sound all but so, with Lindsay, both meaning the Isle of Limes—the true having been pronounced and written Lime or Lims indiscriminately down to a much later period. See the Tempest, Act IV., where the 'glistering garments' brought in by Ariel are, by Prospero's command, 'hung on this line,' with a world of punning on *line* and *lime*." *Quarterly Review*, tom. lxxvii. p. 469.

N.W. of Rouen. They flourished for many generations after the Conquest, and failed apparently shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century,* when the Sires de Frontebosc, a younger branch, succeeded to the property. Their descendants in the female line, Comtes de Frontebosc and Marquesses de Limesay, flourished till the French Revolution, and still, I believe, exist; and it is to a history of the race, privately printed nearly half a century ago by the representative of the second branch, M. Toustain de Richebourg—a devout loyalist, and who has made his volume the depository of all his thoughts and feelings for many years—that I owe these particulars.†

Randolph de Limesay, said to have been sister's son to the Conqueror, was the first of the Anglo-Norman stock who settled in England. He obtained above forty lordships in different counties of England, including Wolverley in Warwickshire, the chief seat of his posterity, and from which they took their style as barons. There was but little of the castle remaining in Dugdale's time, save the moat, and certain "great banks, whereon ancient oaks do grow," coeval probably with the first arrival of the Normans. Randolph died towards the close of William the Conqueror's reign, after founding the Priory of Hertford, in dependency on the Abbey of St. Albans,—to which latter house, like his presumed kinsman Angodus de Lindsay, he bore profound veneration, and within whose hallowed precincts he and his wife Hadewisa were admitted as brother and sister before their decease.‡ Alan de Limesay, his son, and Gerard his grandson,

* The following notice occurs, under the year 1257, in the Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy, under 'Feoda de Balliâ Rothomagensi,' or of Rouen:—"Guielmus de Limesi tenet medietatem terre sue apud Limesi de Rege, unde debet adjuvare ad tenendum placita de Limesi." *Mém. de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, tom. x., (1846,) p. 172.

† A copy of this work—which has no regular title-page, but merely the prefix, 'Famille de Toustain-Frontebosc,' exists in the Public Library of Rouen. I sought for it in vain in those of Paris. The house of Toustain-Frontebosc bore or, a fesse-chequée, or and azure. Their *cri-de-guerre* was "Vive le sang des Rois Normands!"

‡ Dugdale's *Monast.*, tom. iii. p. 309,—"Raerus filius Domini," and "Robertus de Stafford, nepos Domini," are witnesses to another of his charters, there printed. Robert de Stafford, ancestor of the great House of that name, and who obtained a hundred and thirty-one lordships in England, was the son of Roger de Toesni, standard-bearer of Normandy, by Randolph's sister. Robert de Limesay, Bishop of Coventry temp. William Rufus, was son of a Raynerius de Limesay, who had lands in Hertfordshire. Ellis's *Introduction to Domesday*, tom. i. p. 596. Raer and

succeeded him, and were similarly bountiful, but the son of Gerard dying without issue, the property went to his two daughters, the coheiresses above mentioned, to wit, Basilia, the eldest, wife of Sir Hugo de Odingsels, and Algonora, wife of Sir David de Lindsay of Crawford, the descendant and representative of Walter, the original settler in Scotland under David I.*

But before sketching the history of Walter and his posterity, I must make a few observations on the state of Scotland generally at the period of their establishment there, and on the character and consequences of the Norman colonization of Britain,—for a family cannot be rightly understood without appreciation on the one hand of the native or hereditary predisposition of the race it belongs to, and that of the country or society in which its lot is cast, on the other. I will be as succinct as possible—and will begin on this side the deluge.

SECTION II.

Four great waves of population have in succession overflowed Europe,—the Aborigines, a race proved by their language to have been akin to those of India, Northern Asia, and America,† and whom I consider to have been of Hamite origin,‡—the Celts,

Raynerius were probably the same person, and thus the Bishop would be grandson of Randolph. Randolph had another younger son, Galfridus, or Geoffrey de Limesay, mentioned *supra*, p. 4.

* For the descent of the Limesays, see Dugdale's *Baronage*, tom. i. p. 769; *Monasticon*, tom. iii. pp. 298 sqq., tom. vi. pp. 137, 833, &c.; *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, pp. 103, 341, 345, 539, 992, 1108, where many other collateral branches are mentioned. Many families of Lindsays, almost all bearing, with more or less variation, the ancient arms of Limesay, flourished in England to a late period, in Kent, Sussex, Norfolk, Northumberland, and Warwickshire,—to some of which the names of Lindsey and Limesey ("Lindsey alias Limesey") were considered equally appropriate. See Edmondson's *Heraldry* and Burke's *Heraldic Dictionary*, and the Appendix, No. XII.

† The Euskarian or Basque race, and the Finnish, are remnants of this original population in Europe. Its existence throughout the intermediate regions would appear from the known fact of there having been an inferior class, of serfs, among the Celts, and from the numerous foreign words in the Celtic dialects, which are explainable by the Finnish and Tartar languages. See Dr. Prichard's *Physical Hist.*, tom. iv. p. 605.

‡ See my *Progression by Antagonism*, p. 25.

the earliest branch of the Indo-European or Japhetan race, who occupied the whole of Central and Western Europe, reducing the Aborigines to servitude, but adopting, as I should surmise, not a few of their superstitions,—the Classic nations and the Slavonians, closely akin; the former occupying the peninsulas of Italy and Greece, the latter the districts which they still retain in the East of Europe,—and, last of all, the Teutonic race, fresh from their Persian mountains, who, piercing through the Slavonians and thundering at the rear of the Celts, the Greeks, and the Romans, pressed continually forward till they had occupied, either as colonists or conquerors, the whole of the soil that those nations had previously ruled over, regenerating them by intermixture, and re-creating out of the broken fragments of empire the kingdoms and politics of modern Europe.

You must not however misunderstand me as asserting that the whole of the Celtic, the Slavonian, or the Teutonic race was at once discharged on the plains below them—on the contrary, each of the waves I speak of represents a succession of migrations, Celtic, Slavonian, or Teutonic, continuing till the fountain which supplied the race ceased to flow. The Celtic race thus consists of two great collective branches of earlier and later migration, the earlier represented by the Gael, the later by the Welsh or Cymry; and the Teutonic, in like manner, of three—the Upper German tribes, the Lower German, which may otherwise be styled the Saxon race, and the Scandinavian, from which sprang the Normans.*

Restricting our view to our own country, its earliest historical inhabitants were the Albiones, who occupied the whole of the island. They were driven Northwards by the Britanni, a colony from Belgium, who occupied England and gave it the name of Britain. Both these nations were Celtic, the Albiones belonging to the earlier or Gaelic, the Britanni to the Welsh or Cymraic branch of the race.* The Britanni were conquered, civilized, and corrupted by the Romans—the Albiones, more distant, escaped the yoke. Both became Christians in the course of the early ages. The Britanni retain their name in the writings of Cæsar and the Romans, their conquerors—the Albiones exchange theirs for that of Caledonians or Picts, by which they are subsequently

* Prichard's *Physical History*, passim.

known in history. But the original name was never forgotten, and is still perpetuated in that of "Albanich," the Gaelic designation of the Highlanders of Scotland, their direct representatives.*

The Picts or Albiones gradually acquired union and power, and became a kingdom of considerable eminence during the early ages. It consisted of a confederacy of fourteen clans, inhabiting seven provinces, ruled over by seven hereditary chiefs, or "maormors," who elected the sovereign. The nation was divided into two great tribes, the Piĉts and Pictardach, the former inhabiting the mountains, the latter the Lowlands of Scotland—a distinction arising apparently from local causes, not from any diversity of race or manners.†

Ireland, in the mean while, had undergone a revolution resembling that which had befallen the sister island. The earliest inhabitants were the Hiberni, but their power was overthrown by the Scoti, an invading race, from whose supremacy the island receives the name of Scotia in the early mŏdiæval writers. Early in the sixth century a colony of the Scoti settled in the province of Argyle, and are known in history by the name of the Dalriads. They dwelt there, apparently in fraternity with the Picts, and exercising their arms in conjunction with them against the Saxons, then in possession of England, for two hundred years, without any extension of territory.‡ But in the ninth century the imprisoned waters broke loose, and the result of a long and bloody contest was the subjugation of the Picts by the Scottish race, whose name from henceforward became that of Northern Britain. The actual conquest was confined to the Lowlands, the patrimony of the Pictardach, but the Picts or Highlanders were compelled to acknowledge the general superiority of the Scottish kings.

The Scots made no alteration in the laws or polity of the country—the tribes were still ruled by their hereditary maormors, and the transfer of authority was effected upon the whole so peaceably, and the name of the conquerors so rapidly supplanted that of the

* Skene's *Hist. of the Highlanders*, tom. i. pp. 4 sqq.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 23 sqq.; pp. 244 sqq.

‡ The Irish legendary poem of the 'Death of the Sons of Usnach,' appears to belong to this period of Scoto-Irish colonization. It is singularly characteristic and beautiful.

conquered, that it has been supposed in later times that the whole Pictish race was exterminated; and their disappearance has been the fertile theme of wonder for many centuries. The fact was, that the two nations, being akin in race, language, and manners, naturally coalesced.*

It is to this period—to the exercise of "guid counsel and sovereign manhood" in the "overthrowing of the Pyghtis," and to the gratitude of Kenneth MacAlpine, the hero of the conquest, that the tradition, above alluded to, of the fifteenth century, attributes the rise of the Lindsays in Scotland.

Subsequently to the Pictish conquest, the Scottish kingdom flourished with more or less prosperity till the year 1034, when it was nearly overthrown by the establishment of a Norwegian state in Caithness, under Thorfinn, Jarl or Earl of the Orkneys, a celebrated Viking, or Scandinavian pirate. Most of the great provinces or maormorships became subject to him, and the territory of the Scottish king, the "gracious Duncan," was restricted to the narrow limits of Athol and Argyle. Rising in arms during the absence of Thorfinn on a predatory incursion into England, Duncan attempted to regain his dominions, but MacBeth, the Maormor of Moray, allying himself with the Norwegians, defeated and slew him, drove his children into England, and assumed the Crown, which he wore for eighteen years, ruling in the South, while his ally Thorfinn governed in the North of Scotland. At the expiration of that period, Edward the Confessor sent an army into Scotland, by whom MacBeth was defeated and slain, and the royal race were restored to their throne in the person of Malcolm Caenmore. His kingdom was however bounded by that of Thorfinn till the death of the latter six years afterwards, when the Scandinavian sovereignty sank down and expired in an hour, bequeathing to Scotland as the sole memory of its existence the Norwegian population which inhabit the North-Eastern Lowlands to this day.† Malcolm Caenmore then ruled without a competitor, the first Celtic monarch who obtained the complete sove-

* Skene's *Hist. of the Highlanders*, pp. 15 sqq.: pp. 46 sqq.—The identification of the Picts with the ancient Caledonians on the one hand, and the modern Gael, or Highlanders, on the other, is the most interesting among the many points of historical criticism illustrated in the able dissertation from which I have abridged these notices.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 113, sqq.

reignty of Scotland, and the last who governed it on Celtic principles. A new race, a new spirit had long been growing up within the realm, and the ancient polity was doomed to give way to a new and Teutonic civilization.

Ages before this period the Britanni, or Celts of England, the remotest subjects of the Roman Cæsars, had succumbed under a new enemy, the Saxons. The Romans had imparted to them Christianity and civilization, but ease and luxury had enervated their ancient valour, and they fell an easy prey to the manly sons of Odin. Some migrated to France, where the Breton race still preserve their ancient name and language; others retreated to the mountains of Cornwall, Wales, and Cumberland, where Celtic states subsisted till late in the middle ages. The Saxons occupied the fertile fields of England, and pushed their conquests Northward till checked by the Picts and Scots. Wars immediately ensued, the result of which, through obscure transactions extending through many ages, was the subjection of the Scoto-Pictish kingdom to the Saxon kings—not in property, but in political dependence; a dependence which, sometimes relaxed through the impossibility of enforcing it, frequently thrown off, but invariably re-established, was generally acknowledged and acted upon till the days of Edward Plantagenet. It may be unpalatable to our national pride, but it is a fact established by incontrovertible historical evidence, that the Saxon "Basileus," or Emperor, held this superiority—not, as may be supposed, over provinces feudally held of England, but over the whole of the Scottish dominions of the Scottish kings—a superiority, it is to be remembered, purely political, and implying neither right to the soil nor interference with the national laws, liberties, and manners,—while the protection thus accorded to the Scottish kings, in acknowledgment of this dependence, saved those laws and liberties in instances innumerable from annihilation.* Such close intercourse, however, with the royal race of England, the frequent visits paid to the Saxon court, and their share in the deliberations of the Wittenagemot, where they ranked first in place and honour, after the Basileus, could have but one effect, that of Anglicizing, in other words, civilizing the Celtic sovereigns.

* Sir Francis Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, tom. i. pp. 466 sqq., 528 sqq.; tom. ii. pp. cccxxiv sqq., cccxxx sqq.

But there was a cause still more direct, and within their own territories, which hastened this result.

The kingdom of Scotland, under Malcolm Caenmore and his predecessors, consisted of three distinct principalities united under one sovereign. The first and parent state was the Scotō-Pictish kingdom, their hereditary dominions, consisting of the whole of Scotland North of the two friths. The second was the province of Anglia, Saxonia, or, as it was more correctly and ultimately styled, Laodonia or Lothian, extending from the German Ocean Westwards—a district colonized at an early period by the Saxons, and which had been granted by the great Edgar to Kenneth of Scotland towards the close of the tenth century, on the oath of the latter to govern it by Saxon laws.* The third was the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde, or, as it was now beginning to be called, the principality of Cymryland of Cumbria, extending from the Western limits of Lothian to the Atlantic, and bounded to the North by Scotia Proper, or the Scoto-Pictish kingdom, to the South by Northumberland and Lancashire. It had been held by a succession of native princes under Saxon superiority, till the extinction of the race, when it was granted to Constantine, King of the Scots, who established the principle that it should always be held by the "tanist," or next heir to the Scottish throne, preserving its distinct laws, usages, and language. From this time forward it was held as a military benefice under the Saxon kings of England.†

It is obvious therefore that, setting aside the kingdom of Strathclyde, which did not, strictly speaking, belong to them, the Scottish kings ruled over one half of their dominions by Pictish law, over the other, the province of Lothian, by Saxon,—and it will not be wondered at, that the Saxon or more civilized and governable element gradually but surely attracted to it their heart and affections. It was in fact this acquisition of Lothian which de-Celticised the Scottish kings and Scottish Lowlands.‡ The very kingdom of Strathclyde, fortified as it was by distinctive laws and language, was not proof against the neighbourhood; Saxon spirit, Saxon usages, and Saxon laws gradually insinuated themselves within its pale, and at the very moment when the famous 'Inquisitio Principis,' already alluded to, reveals the existence of the

* *Ibid.*, tom. i. p. 475. † *Ibid.*, p. 440. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

original privileges of the province, they vanish away."* The result was, that of the two great public officers, the High Justiciaries of Scotland Proper and of Lothian, the latter, after no long interval, extended his authority over the kingdom of Strathclyde, and the term Lothian itself came to denote the whole of Scotland South of the two friths.

But fair as was the dawn of Saxon civilization, it was the herald merely of day, or rather of the fresh and early sunrise, prophetical of noon. The Saxon empire had long been declining. The character of the race had degenerated since the days of Egbert and Alfred,—reverence had abated, demoralization had set in, the kingdom was weakened by assaults from without and corruption from within, and at the battle of Hastings the sceptre passed, at one blow and to the amazement of Europe, into the hands of William the Northman.

The peculiar characteristics of the Scandinavian tribes, which I noticed as forming the third of the great divisions of the Teutonic race, were their roving habits, their lofty and chivalric exaltation of spirit, their indomitable energy, and the singular plasticity with which they adapted themselves to every change of external circumstances, at the same time that they overruled and fashioned them to their will. They were thus peculiarly fitted for the office assigned them by Providence, of the regenerators of mankind. The Goths, the Vandals, the Burgundians, the Lombards,† had, at the period I am speaking of, fulfilled this mission,—the Northmen, or Normans, were yet in reserve, the last to appear on the stage, and the greatest of the line. Bringing their original name and a mythology rich, imaginative, and profound from their Asian birthplace, we find them settled as a sacred or hero race in the Scandinavian peninsula in the earliest ages of Christianity. The narrowness of the soil, joined to their restlessness of spirit, launched them upon the ocean, and they became the Sea-kings of the North,—they conquered Russia, propped up Byzantium, colonized the coasts of England and Scotland, peopled Iceland, and discovered America; and lastly, collecting the flower of their

* Sir Francis Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, tom. i. p. 447.

† All these nations can be traced from the neighbourhood of Scandinavia and the Baltic; all are closely akin in character and destiny; all have been misunderstood till recently as destroyers and barbarians.

chivalry, landed on the shores of Neustria, under Rollo the Dane, at the commencement of the tenth century. A feeble monarch and a distracted nation were unable to resist them, and Neustria became their own, under the new name of Normandy. They mingled in marriage with the native inhabitants—of a race more civilized and less warlike than themselves, and, by an invariable law of physiology, a still nobler progeny sprang from the intermixture, retaining in all respects the freedom and independence of their sires, but inheriting a softer and more humanized strain of character from their maternal, or Franco-Gallic ancestry. The Church then stepped forward—and the sons of the Vikings became her most devoted children, her most liberal benefactors. A succession of able rulers consolidated the Norman polity and fostered the progress of civilization, till, at the commencement of the eleventh century, the national character presented, in its gravity, temperance, faith, reverence, and the high and enthusiastic sense of chivalry and honour, the fairest type of humanity hitherto developed by any one nation in Christendom. The hour was then ripe for their translation to a broader field of action in the scheme of Providence.*

* "Without laying aside that dauntless valour," says Mr. Macaulay, "which had been the terror of every land from the Elbe to the Pyrenees, the Normans rapidly acquired all, and more than all, the knowledge and refinement which they found in the country where they settled. Their courage secured their territory against foreign invasion. They established internal order, such as had long been unknown in the Frank empire. They embraced Christianity, and with Christianity they learned a great part of what the clergy had to teach. They abandoned their native speech, and adopted the French tongue, in which the Latin was the predominant element. They speedily raised their new language to a dignity and importance which it had never before possessed. They found it a barbarous jargon; they fixed it in writing; and they employed it in legislation, in poetry, and in romance. They renounced that brutal intemperance to which all the other branches of the great German family were too much inclined. The polite luxury of the Norman presented a striking contrast to the coarse voracity and drunkenness of his Saxon and Danish neighbours. He loved to display his magnificence, not in huge piles of food and hogsheads of strong drink, but in large and stately edifices, rich armour, gallant horses, choice falcons, well-ordered tournaments, banquets delicate rather than abundant, and wines remarkable rather for their exquisite flavour than for their intoxicating power. That chivalrous spirit which has exercised so powerful an influence on the politics, morals, and manners of all the European nations, was found in the highest exaltation among the Norman nobles. Those nobles were distinguished by their graceful bearing and insinuating address. They were distinguished also by their skill in negotiation, and by a natural eloquence which they assiduously cultivated. It was the boast of one of their historians that the Norman gentlemen were orators from the cradle. But their chief fame was

I need not expatiate on the blessings which have accrued to England through the Conquest—the regeneration of the Saxon race through amalgamation with the Norman, and the birth from that union of a still higher offspring, the Saxo-Norman Englishman, inheriting the principle of Independence from the one parent, and that of Order or Reverence from the other, with all they imply, of antagonism and progression, as represented in the Constitution of Great Britain.

The effects of the revolution as regarded Scotland were immediate, but less direct. Its first result was an attempt on the part of Malcolm Caenmore to throw off the submission he owed to the English Crown,—it was unavailing, and he was compelled to submit and do homage to William, like his ancestors.* The second was the flight to Malcolm's court of Edgar Atheling and his sister Margaret, the last descendants of the Saxon kings,—Margaret became his wife, and her brother Edgar dying without issue, the heirship and representation of the blood of Alfred and Cerdic centered in her children, the Celtic kings of Scotland, who thus, by a singular vicissitude, became the cherished darlings of the Anglo-Saxon population both North and South of the Tweed. This marriage and the claims derived from it extinguished the last vestige of Celtic nationality in the breast of the Scottish kings; the children of Malcolm and Margaret inherited with Saxon names Saxon feelings, and Edgar, Malcolm's successor, assumed the title of Basileus, as representative of the royal line of Britain,† and superseded the ancient Pictish mormorships by the feudal title of "Comes," or Earl, by which the hereditary chieftains of Angus, Fife, Athol, Marr, and their brethren, are thereafter known in Scottish history. While lastly, confining our view to the reigns of Malcolm, Edgar, and Alex-

derived from their military exploits. Every country, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Dead Sea, witnessed the prodigies of their discipline and valour. One Norman knight, at the head of a handful of warriors, scattered the Celts of Connaught. Another founded the monarchy of the Two Sicilies, and saw the Emperors both of the East and of the West fly before his arms. A third, the Ulysses of the first crusade, was invested by his fellow-soldiers with the sovereignty of Antioch; and a fourth, the Tancred whose name lives in the great poem of Tasso, was celebrated through Christendom as the bravest and most generous of the champions of the Holy Sepulchre."—*Hist. of England*, tom. i. p. 11.

* *Palgrave*, tom. ii. p. ccxxxi.

† *Ibid.*, tom. i. pp. 807 sqq.

under I., must be enumerated the settlement in Scotland by those monarchs, in the spirit of these new feelings as well as from motives of humanity, of numerous Saxon refugees, the noblest of the nation, who flocked from England after the Conquest and during the whole reign of the Conqueror, and of whom Cospatrick, Earl of Northumberland, the great-grandson of King Ethelred, and the ancestor of the Dunbars, Earls of March, was the most illustrious.* And it is to this period that another of the apocryphal traditions I noticed at the commencement of this narrative refers the settlement of the Lindsays, under the hypothesis of their being of Saxon origin,—deriving them from the "Ealdormen" or Earls of Lindeseye in Mercia—an illustrious descent, if it could be established, as the race in question was of the royal line of the Saxons, and descended in direct succession from Winta, the youngest son of Odin.†

But the completion of the groundwork of Scottish civilization, by the introduction of the Norman element, the feudal law, and the monastic system, was reserved for David I., youngest son of Malcolm and Margaret, and successor of Alexander I.,—the sainted son of a sainted mother, and allowed even by Buchanan to present the perfect model of a wise and virtuous sovereign. Educated in England among the most accomplished and chivalrous of the Normans, he had imbibed their character and principles; and even before his accession to the throne, during his administration of Strathclyde or Cumbria, he conceived the scheme of humanizing his country by introducing a new race of proprietors from Normandy and England—colonists, not conquerors—men who would diffuse the superior civilization of the South, foster the religious establishments he proposed to scatter over the land, and control the barbarism of the natives,—and the wisdom and discrimination with which he selected these colonists are evinced by the superior happiness and prosperity enjoyed by Scotland during the rule of his successors down to the close of the thirteenth century. The whole history, in fact, of Scotland subsequently to the reign of Alexander I. is that of the working out of the scheme first organized and brought into systematic action by St. David; and the mingling of races thus associated,

* Chalmers' *Caledonia*, tom. i. p. 499.

† *Florent. Wigornensis*, p. 638; *Palgrave*, tom. i. p. 592.

the Celt, the Saxon, and the Norman, each strongly opposed in character, neither absolutely subjected to the others, and all of them contributing their quota or element to the formation of that national character which has been the result of their fusion, is the cause in great measure of those strong lights and deep shadows, of that strange antagonism of feelings and principles, sometimes in advance, sometimes in the rear of the times, which renders the history of Scotland so picturesque and peculiar."*

It must not however be supposed that the Celtic population viewed this utter apostacy from their ancient traditions with indifference. Rebellions constantly broke out, the question usually turning on the conflicting principles of Celtic and feudal succession —the Celtic law awarding it to the brother, the feudal to the son. It was on this Celtic principle that, on the death of Malcolm Caenmore, Donaldbane, his brother, was set up by the Scottish maormors as their king, in opposition to his son Edgar, and it was solely through the arms of William the Norman that this insurrection was quelled. Attempts of a similar nature repeatedly followed during the succeeding century.† But day by day the feudal law became more and more predominant, and the Celtic star paled on the horizon, while the remembrance of what the Celtic law actually was, is essential to the right comprehension of

* "David I," says Mr. Burton, "had passed his youth in England; had 'rubbed off the rust of Scottish barbarity,' as William of Malmesbury complacently says; and had married an Englishwoman. His education and tastes attached him to the gallant race, who, wherever they went, were first in arms and arts, and mingled the sternest powers of man with his finest social enjoyments. He courted the presence of the hardly Normans. They had nearly exhausted England; and the new territory opened to them, if less rich and fertile, was still worth commanding. It was chiefly in the fertile plains of the South, and in the neighbourhood of the English border, that they were most thickly congregated; but some of them found their way far North, to the wild districts beyond the Grampians, where the greatness of the estate was some compensation for its barrenness. But wherever their lot was cast—among the Saxons of Midlothian, the Celts of Inverness, or their brother Normans of Caithness—these heroes, who united the courage and fierceness of the old Sea-king to the polished suavity of the Frank, became the lords of the land, and the old inhabitants of the soil became their subordinates." *Life of Simon Lord Lovat*, p. 3.—The history of the Norman race, as regenerators of society, has yet to be written. They infused new life into every country where they settled—into England, Scotland, Sicily, and Russia. Their history would fall into three periods or divisions, that of their Scandinavian infancy, that of colonization and conquest, and lastly the analysis of their influence on modern society.

† Skene's *Highlanders*, tom. i. pp. 108, 115, 125 sqq., 130 sqq.

numberless passages, otherwise strange and incomprehensible, in our national history. The seven maormorships, or earldoms, are indeed recognisable, in the fruitless assertion of their privileges as a court of election, as late as the end of the thirteenth century,* — one of them still exists, in uninterrupted lineal (though female) succession, at the present day, in the noble family of Erskine; and of the others, which similarly devolved on female heirs, but have become extinct in the direct line, the heirs-male still survive among the chieftains of the Highland clans of Scotland.†

Four races therefore, to conclude this rapid sketch, were thus settled and living in Scotland at the period to which I have now returned—the twelfth century, as witnessed by the charters of the Scottish kings and the testimony of history,—to wit, the Franci, or Normans, the Anglii, or Saxons, the Scoti, or Scottish race, and the Picts—of whom the Northern division or Highlanders seem to have been included under the name of Scoti, while the Southern, and more especially the remnant of the ancient Britons of Strathclyde, receive the name of Wallenses, or Galwienses—as inhabitants of the peninsula of Galloway.‡ These races rank in the charters in the order in which I have enumerated them,—each retained in great measure the language, laws, customs, and habits of thought, peculiar to itself; and all more or less have been influential on posterity, who thus inherit Celtic clanship, Saxon independence, and Norman chivalry, with a substratum possibly of superstition derived from the aboriginal Hamite population, as the basis of the national character of Scotland.—Walter de Lindsay, the Anglo-Norman colonist, on whose name and history I have so long paused, must answer to us in this survey as the representative of his race,—and the fortunes of his descendants will be the subject of the succeeding pages of these memoirs.

* Palgrave's *Documents relating to the Affairs and History of Scotland*, p. 14; Skene's *Highlanders*, tom. i. p. 248.

† Proved by Mr. Skene in his learned and luminous dissertation on the Highlanders of Scotland, *passim*.

‡ The name of Galloway was then applied to the whole peninsula lying between the Solway, the Clyde, and the Irish Sea.

SECTION III.

Walter de Lindsay, thus settled in Scotland under the banner of the sainted David, figures repeatedly in his charters while Prince of Cumberland, but disappears after the death of Alexander I., his brother.* His name is replaced, after a brief interval, by that of William de Lindsay, apparently his son, and his successor at least in possessions and favour, as a magnate of Scotland and witness to the royal charters,†—the sole documents, you must remember, which we have to depend upon, as no contemporary histories have been preserved of those times in Scotland, and mere pedigrees are utterly unsatisfactory. After about five years William disappears, and two brothers, Walter and William de Lindsay, probably his children, and hitherto confounded with their father and grandfather, occupy his place. The elder, Walter, appears to have left no children,—it was William who carried on the line of succession. He is the first of whose local

* "Walterus de Lindesele" held a knight's fee in Norfolk, of the honour of St. Edmund, in the time of Henry II., who reigned from 1100 to 1135. *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, tom. i. p. 282. He was in all probability settled there by Robert, son of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, a monk of St. Ebrulf in Normandy, on his appointment to the abbacy of St. Edmundsbury, which he held from 1100 to 1102. I am confirmed in this impression by finding the name of Brisard de Lindsay as a donor of tythes in Stainton, co. Cumberland, to the abbey of St. Ebrulf before 1128, the said Brisard holding under Randulph de Meschines, surnamed De Briessard, Hugh Lupus's *successor* in the earldom of Chester. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. xi. *Instrumenta*, col. 208. At the time moreover of the great inquest into the lands of the Knights Templars in 1185, Alured or Alfred, the Deacon, answers for a toft of land in Fordington, co. Lincoln, a district held originally under Hugh Lupus, "ex dono Walteri de Lindesei," Dugd. *Monast.*, tom. vi. p. 829.*—I conceive both these Walters to be identical with Walter de Lindsay, the first settler in Scotland. He was evidently not a young man in 1116, as may be deduced from his non-appearance in the charters after the accession of David I., and from the number of generations intervening between him and David de Lindsay who was married in 1201.—A close connection, I may add, existed between the early Lindsays and the Cospatricks Earls of Dunbar, the Lords of Allerdale, a branch of that family, and the Meschines, Lords of Cumberland and Earls of Chester. The Lindsays had an interest in Norfolk as late as the reign of Edward I., when William de Lindsay sued for a moiety of the church of Ringsted.

† Excepting ecclesiastics, none but tenants *in capite*, barons, or magnates, as they are indifferently styled, are witnesses to the charters of the Scottish kings.

* "Hilibertus de Lindesia" appears in the same inquest as holding a barate of land in Willoe, near Fordington.

habitation we have precise legal evidence.* He resided in Roxburghshire, on the banks of the Leader, at Ercildun,† illustrious in song as the home in later times of Thomas the Rhymer, and near the Abbey of Dryburgh, to which he, as well as his son Walter, was a liberal benefactor,‡—while in a charter of the latter baron to that of Kelso we find the name of his son also, William, associated as consenting to the donation, which William thereafter renews and confirms, on his own authority.§ The seals of these two latter barons, Walter and William, preserved in the Chapter-House of Durham Cathedral, exhibit a lively type of the character of the young Norman noble. They are represented on horseback, riding gently along, with falcon on wrist, unhelmeted, and with their shields hung carelessly behind them,—the only variation being that the father, Walter, rides without bridle or stirrup, and the bird rests placidly on his hand, while the latter, William, is in the act of slipping it on its prey. They might be thought to prefigure the character more recently attributed in tradition and song to the "Lindsays light and gay," who were not less alive to the enjoyments of peace than the more exciting raptures of war. Both Walter and William, I should add, are represented without beards, shewing that they at least

* That Walter, the original settler, was an inhabitant of the principality of Cumbria, may indeed be inferred as probable from his witnessing the Inquisitio of 1116.

† Now Earlstoun. He held it under Cospatrick Earl of Dunbar.

‡ He grants two bovates of land in Ercildun, "cum toffo et crofto et pastura," with consent of "Walter, my son and heir," *Chart. Dryburgh*, p. 87,—and, in another charter, the "Sartum Alwini, ex illa parte aque versus Cadesley," &c.,—which latter donation is repeated by Walter almost in the same words. *Ibid.*, p. 79. Cadesley is the scene of the beautiful ballad of "Katharine Janfarie."—William de Lindsay also grants to Dryburgh the "terram que fuit Magistri Thome de Hareguse in villâ de Berwic, proximè cimiterio Sancte Trinitatis in australi parte berewton,"—but I am doubtful whether this be not his grandson William, who flourished under William the Lion. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

§ The original charter by "Gualterus de Lyndesey" confers the church of "Ercheldune," with a carucate of land, for ever, for the souls of King David and his eldest son, Earl Henry, and for that of Walter de Lindsay, his uncle,—for the souls of himself and his wife, and those of all his predecessors and successors. "Et hospitale in eadem villâ quietum erit ab omni reddita decimarum."—The charter of William de Lindsay repeats the grant even more fully, adding, "Promisi autem quod pro posse meo hanc elemosinam ad opus et utilitatem ecclesie Dunelmensis manutenebo." Both charters are now preserved in the Treasury of Durham Cathedral, and are printed in Mr. Raine's *Hist. of N. Durham*, App. p. 39.

still adhered in that respect to the fashion of the Anglo-Norman race South of the Tweed.*

Contemporary with the original Walter de Lindsay, and his successor William, lived another De Lindsay, probably the brother of the former, by name Randolphus or Ranulphus, who obtained large estates in Cumberland, South of the Solway, in marriage with Ethelreda of Allerdale, granddaughter of the illustrious Saxon refugee, Cospatrick, and sister of Gunilda, wife of Uchtred, the Pictish Prince of Galloway.† Randolph witnesses charters of King David, of Henry Prince of Scotland, and of his uncle by marriage, Earl Cospatrick the second,‡ and is otherwise known by his gifts to the Priory of St. Bees in Cumberland, a cell of St. Mary's, York,§ and to the Priory of Carlisle, whose represen-

* "The Lord Lion King," (Sir David Lindsay,) observes Mr. Raine, "shall explain the seal and detail the habits of his ancestor:—

"And sa he lyvit pleasantlie,
Some time with hawking and hunting,
Some time with wanton lufve rinning,
And some time, like ane man of wyir,
Full gallantly wald rin ane speir:
He was the pryse above them all."

—*Squire Meldrum.* The name is spelt "De Lindesie" in the circumscription of both seals. The seal of William de Lindsay is engraved in the plate of seals prefixed to this chapter.

† The manors of Blencarnet and Ukmanby came to Randolph through this marriage. *Chronicon Cumbriæ, ap.* Dugd. *Monast.*, tom. iii. p. 585.

‡ Charter by Earl Cospatrick, *before* 16 August, 1139, when the Earl died, Raine's *N. Durham*, App. p. 25.—Charter by David I. to St. Bees. *Regist. S. Bees*, Harl. MSS. 434, fol. 17.—Charter by Prince Henry to the Abbey of Holmcultram. Dugd. *Monast.*, tom. v. p. 594.

§ He gave them the church or chapel of Loweswater and two bovates of land early in the twelfth century. I do not know the precise date, but it was fifty years before the charter of Confirmation granted them by Alicia Countess of Albemarle, as heir of her brother William, the son of William, the son of Duncan, eldest son of Malcolm Caenmore—commonly called the Boy of Egremont,—and in which charter it is stated, that the monks had possessed the "capellam, cum duabus bovatis terre eidem capelle pertinentibus," by the gift of Randolph de Lindsay, "jam quinquaginta annis transactis." *Regist.* fol. 12.—The Boy of Egremont was alive in 1160, and a partaker in the rebellion of the Scoto-Pictish Celts of Scotland, of which the object apparently was to set him on the throne as the rightful heir. I do not know however the period of his death, and perhaps it would be safest to deduct the fifty years from the period of the death of Alicia's husband, William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle, which, being in 1179, would refer the gift of Randolph to c. 1129.—He is a witness to the gift of the church of Childewic by Alice's mother Cecilia de Rameli to the priory of Ermesey before 21 Jan. 1139,* and to

* The "Appobatio," bearing the acceptance of the gift, is by Thurstan Archbishop of York, who died on that day. Dugd. *Monast.*, tom. vi. p. 203.

tatives, the Dean and Chapter, still hold the manor of Lorton in virtue of his donation.*

I am uncertain whether or not he left issue,† but a William de Lindsay—possibly the representative of the Scottish Lindsays—appears as a claimant of Loweswater and other lands which had belonged to Randolph, in the reign of Richard Coeur-de-Lion; and persons of the name of Lindsay inherited land in the neighbourhood as late as the reign of Edward I.‡

But I must advance with a more rapid step. William de Lindsay of Ercildun, and, as he is also styled, of Luffness, the grandson of William, figures as magnate of Scotland and witness to the charters of Malcolm the Maiden and William the Lion, from 1161 to 1200; between which extreme points of his career he appears in 1174, as one of the

> "Ostages fifteen,
> The greatest that of our land were seen,"§

given in redemption of King William after his capture by Henry II.,—and, between 1189 and 1199, as High Justiciary of Lothian,‖ an office which, as I have already partly intimated, conferred paramount authority in all civil and criminal jurisdiction to the South of the two firths, as the corresponding one of Justiciary of Scotland Proper did to the North of that boundary. These justiciarships were the highest offices under the Crown, and were always held by barons whose power enabled them to enforce the

the charter of William FitzDuncan, evidently executed at the same moment, which has been engraved from the original in Whitaker's *Hist. of Craven*, p. 162.

* A charter of Confirmation by Henry II. enumerates "ex dono Randulfi de Lindesela totam terram quam habuit predictus Randulfus in Artureth, et totam terram suam de Loretona, cum molendino et cum omnibus pertinentiis ejusdem terre." Dugd. *Monast.*, tom. vi. p. 144.—Besides, according to Nicholson and Burn, "the miller, his wife and children." According to these writers, Lorton "is the most beautiful and pleasant, as well as most fertile vale in the whole country." *Hist. Cumberland and Westm.*, tom. ii. p. 62.

† His wife Ethelreda, Hethreda, Hectreda, or Uctreda, as her name is variously written, survived him, and married, as her second husband, William de Esseville. *Regist. S. Bege*, fol. 39.

‡ *Nicholson and Burn*, tom. ii. p. 60.

§ Wyntown's *Cronykil*, tom. i. p. 326,—and Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. i. p. 39.

‖ Charters in the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, tom. i. p. 67; *Chart. Kelso*, p. 304; *Chart. Melrose*, pp. 15, 116; Thomson's *Acts of Parliament*, tom. i. Introd. p. 81.

regal authority and the execution of the laws,—while the office of Chancellor, which ranked immediately next to them in dignity, was almost invariably bestowed on churchmen.

William is the first of the Lindsays whom we find associated with the territory of Crawford in Clydesdale, so inseparably connected with their later history.* This is proved by his donation

* "The great mountain territory of Crawford," or Crawford-Lindsay, as it was commonly called, "forms," says Chalmers, "the Southern extremity of Lanarkshire, and is the highest district in the South of Scotland, the waters running from it in opposite directions South and North," into the Clyde and Solway Frith.* The Lindsays are usually said to have acquired it by the marriage of Sir David Lindsay, son of William, with the daughter of Sir John Crawford, about 1230; but I have found no proof of this marriage, and Williams certainly possessed it long before. They held it till the close of the fifteenth century—according to Chalmers till the rebellion against James III. in 1488, when David Duke of Montrose was deprived of it by the successful faction, who gave it to Archibald Bell-the-cat, Earl of Angus. Others say the Duke exchanged it with Earl Archibald for lands in Forfarshire. A few years subsequently the name was altered by charter to Crawford-Douglas, "but," says Chalmers, "established usage prevailed over chartered authority, and the old name of Crawford-Lindsay was continued." *Caledonia*, tom. iii. p. 732.—It was sometimes called the South Highlands. One of the mountains is named in Blaeu's curious Atlas, "Lindsayes Cross."

The ruins of the Castle of Crawford or Tower Lindsay are still to be seen; "the latter," says Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account, "now lies in the form of a large heap of earth, all over green." Wallace's capture of Crawford Castle, while in occupation of the English, is related by Mr. Carrick in his Life of that hero, tom. i. p. 193, and the ballad of the 'Gude Wallace' seems to be founded upon it.

In the time of James V. veins of gold and silver were discovered in Crawford, which proved so productive that from the metal gathered there a new gold coin was issued, the most beautiful of the Scottish series, and called the bonnet-piece, the King being represented on it with that national head-dress. On one occasion, it is said, the foreign ambassadors, being out hunting with King James, dined with him at the old Castle of Crawford. "The King made some apology for the dinner, which was composed of the game they had killed during the hunting and hawking of the day, but he assured his guests that the dessert would make them some amends, as he had given directions that it should consist of the finest fruits which the country afforded. The foreigners looked at each other with surprise, on hearing the King talk of fruits being produced amidst the bleak moors and barren mountains around them. But the dessert made its appearance in the shape of a number of covered saucers, one of which was placed before each guest, and being examined was found full of gold bonnet-pieces, which they were desired to accept as the fruit produced by the mountains of Crawford-muir." *Tales of a Grandfather.*

The

* The view from a lofty eminence near the Lead-hills is bounded by the Solway Frith, the mountains of Skiddaw and Helvellyn, the Isle of Man, Ailsa Craig, the Isle of Arran, and the Pentland hills.

of a portion of the district to the Abbey of Newbattle.* He also granted the lands of Faulhope to the monks of Melrose,† and others near Binnyn to the Priory of St. Andrews.‡ But Newbattle became the favourite abbey of the Lindsay's subsequently to William's time, and the chain of charters by which the gift of William was successively confirmed and added to by his descendants affords complete and connected evidence of their descent and pedigree for several generations.

By William's wife, Marjory, daughter of Henry Prince of Scotland, and sister of King William the Lion and David Earl of Huntingdon,§ he left a son and heir, Sir David,‖ Lord of

The gold-mines have long been abandoned, and lead is the only metal now sought for in the neighbourhood of

"Auld Crawford-Lindesay's towers."

* It grants "quandam partem terre mee de Cranford, illam scilicet que jacet ad Suth-West de Brothyralewyn, et ad aquilonem de Deither," according to boundaries which are described at length. Earl David of Huntingdon, brother of William the *Lion*, is a witness to it, and to the Confirmation which follows. *Chart. Newbattle*, MS.

† The charter confers on the monks the lands of "Fauope, sicut aqua Ledre vadit, et sicut sepis includit," for the souls of his father and mother, &c. *Chart. Melrose*, tom. i. p. 11.—This charter is witnessed by "Dregone (misprinted Arcelina) de Lindesia,"—who also witnesses a charter of Alice de Rumeli in the *Register of St. Bees*, fol. 8.—"Jordanus de Lindesia" witnesses a confirmation by Thomas de Muschamp, or Muschamp, who flourished in 1174. Raine's *N. Durham*, App. p. 137.—I have no doubt that all these Lindsays were closely related.

‡ He grants "Deo et ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Binuyn," a half carucate of land which "antecessor meus Durandus" (his predecessor, that is to say, in the property) had given them, "cum prato et toftis in curia Durandi," &c. This was between 1178 and 1188. *Chart. Priory of St. Andrews*, p. 180.—Durandus was probably the "Durandus Vicecomes" who flourished under David I., as proved by other documents in the same Chartulary, pp. 181, 191.

§ Robert de Pinkeney claimed the Scottish throne in 1291 as descendant and representative of Marjory, mother of his grandmother Alice de Lindsay, the heiress of this original House of Crawford. See his 'Petitio,' Rymer's *Fœd.*, tom. ii. p. 576. The mother of Alice having been Alicenora de Limesay, as shown hereafter, Marjory must have been the wife, not of David, Alice's father, but of William, her grandfather, the William spoken of in the text—one generation more remote.

‖ It is only at the beginning of the thirteenth century that the title "Dominus," betokening knighthood, begins to be prefixed to the Christian names of the Scottish barons, and for many generations it was almost as often withheld as the contrary. Hence William de Lindsay, father of David, and his ancestors, may have been, and probably were, knights, but I have not styled them so, having no proof of

* The lead-mines of Crawford were wrought as early as 1264, as appears by a notice in the *Chamberlain Rolls*, tom. i. p. 48.

Crawford, and two younger sons, Sir Walter and William, of whom Sir Walter became the ancestor of the House of Lamberton, and William of the Lindsays of Luffness, who ultimately succeeded to the male representation of the Lindsays.*

Sir David, the eldest son, succeeded his father in 1200, about a year before his marriage with his English kinswoman, Aleonora de Limesay, the coheiress ultimately of the barons of Wolverley.† On this occasion he probably assumed as his cognisance the Limesay eagle, as witnessed by his seal, still extant.‡ He confirmed his father's donation to Newbattle,§ gave the lands of

the fact. Whenever, subsequently to this, the title "Sir" is prefixed, it is on the authority of some charter or document in which the baron is styled "Dominus."

* Simon de Lindsay, who flourished *temp.* William the Lion and Alexander II., was possessed of part of the territory of Molle, in Roxburghshire, by gift of his mother, Isabel de Molle, daughter of Eschyna de Molle, the original heiress, daughter again of Thomas de Landonis, Hostiarius or "Durward" of Scotland. Isabel may have been a second wife of William de Lindsay. Her mother Eschyna married, first, Robert de Croc, by whom she had Isabel, and secondly, Walter FitzAlan, the High Steward, ancestor of the royal family of Stuart. Simon granted the land of "Hungerigge" in Molle, "et quoddam pratum sub Ederesdesete," to his daughter Helen de Lindsay, whom failing, to her sister, Domina Eschyna de Lindsay. Hungerig afterwards belonged to the Lindsays of Wauchopdale, among whom the name Simon reappears at the close of the century. David de Lindsay and Simon de Lindsay are witnesses, in close connection, as father and son or brothers, to a Confirmation in the Chartulary of Newbattle, and either the same or another Simon de Lindsay appears as Canon of Dunkeld, and chaplain to Hugo Bishop of that see, before 1211. *Chart. P. St. Andrews*, p. 291; *Chart. Holyrood*, p. 53.

† Dugdale's *Baronage*, tom. i. p. 769.—It may have appeared to my readers as if more than a due number of generations had intervened between the arrival of the Lindsays in Scotland and this marriage of David de Lindsay. But assuming the father of Walter de Lindsay* to have married in the year of the Conquest, 1066, and Walter and each of his descendants to have married on completing their twenty-second year, the marriage of Walter's great-great-great-great-grandson, David de Lindsay, would fall in 1199, the year in which it actually did take place being 1201, as proved by the eldest son having come of age in 1222—a close approximation. Marriages took place much earlier in those days than now, as will be shewn in the case of the Crawford family hereafter.

‡ Appended to the charter of Slepersfield to Holyrood, presently to be mentioned. He may have borne it previously by inheritance, but armorial bearings were not, strictly speaking, hereditary in Scotland previously to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

§ *Chart. Newbattle*, MS.

* I have already remarked the probability that he was not a young man when he came to Scotland. Born in 1067, he would be about fifty in 1116, and fifty-eight at the accession of David I., after which he disappears.

Sleparsfield to the 'Abbey of Holyrood,'* and the moiety of the church of Long Ichinton to the Priory of Hertford,† was High Justiciary of Scotland,‡ and is a frequent witness to the charters of his uncle, David Earl of Huntingdon,§ the Sir Kenneth of Sir Walter Scott's chivalric romance, 'The Talisman,' and from whom he would appear to have derived his Christian name, for centuries afterwards the favourite one among the Lindsays. He died in 1214, leaving a son, David, a minor, who had been detained as one of the hostages for King William in England under Earl David's care for five years previously,‖ and who still remained there under ward of King John till the death of his maternal uncle, Sir John de Limesay, in

* These lands of Sleparsfield, in the parish of Linton-Roderick or West Linton, co. Peebles, had been previously given to them by Richard Cumyn, the first of that name who settled in Scotland, "cum assensu et consilio" of his (Cumyn's) wife, Hestilda,—and by William Cumyn, son of Richard,—which latter confirmation must have been before 1210, when William became Earl of Buchan. As he is described simply as William Cumyn in David's charter, it was probably granted previously to that year. For David's charter see the *Chart. Holyrood*, p. 211.—Hestilda was probably the original possessor of West Linton. She was daughter and heiress of Gothrik, or Uchtred, son and heir of Donaldbane King of Scots, son of Duncan King of Scots,—and appears as the wife, successively, of Richard Cumyn, c. 1152-1159, and of Malcolm Earl of Athol, c. 1178-1186, William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan in right of his second wife, was son and heir of Richard and Hestilda; and Richard Cumyn (father of John Lord of Badenoch, the Red Cumyn) was son and heir of William.—"How David of Lyndesay," observes Mr. Joseph Robertson, to whom I owe these particulars, "came to succeed the Cumyns in the lordship of this territory, I am wholly unable to explain. The Lindsay possessions in Tweeddale were very considerable at a period not long afterwards."—William de Lindsay, I may add, David's father, is witness to a charter by Richard Cumyn and his wife Hextildis to Hexham, in Northumberland. Dugd. *Monast.*, tom. vi. p. 184.—I may here tender my acknowledgments to Joseph Robertson, Esq., of Glasgow, for many very valuable notices connected with the early Lindsay possessions in Scotland.

† This was subsequently confirmed by Gerard de Lindsay. "The benefit the monks derived thereby was two parts of the tythe corn throughout all the demesne lands of the town. But the other moitié was granted by the said David to William de Odingsels," son of Basilia de Limesay, sister of his mother Alesmora. Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 345, edit. alt.

‡ Between 1203 and 1208, *Chart. Kelso*, p. 318; 6 Nov. 1208, *Chart. Melrose*, p. 85; *Acts Parl.*, tom. i. p. 68*; and c. 1211, *Chart. Kelso*, p. 313.

§ *Chart. St. Andrews*, pp. 237, 239; *Chart. Lindores*, p. 38, &c. He and other Lindsays are also frequent witnesses to the charters of the High Stewards of Scotland.

‖ Mandate, 1213. *Lit. Claus.*, p. 137.—The hostages had been given in 1209, on the conclusion of a treaty between King William and King John.—A precept is issued to the sheriffs of Oxford, Suffolk, and Norfolk, about the "terra hereditam David de Lindes'," 1214. *Lit. Claus.*, p. 208.

1222, when King Alexander of Scotland paid three hundred pounds for the guardianship, ward, and marriage of Sir John's heirs,* to wit, of the young David de Lindsay, his brothers Gerard, William, and Walter, and his sister Alice—the English property which devolved on the eldest son, David, extending over the counties of Essex, Hertford, Oxford, Warwick, Leicester, Norfolk, and Suffolk. He also, as "Dominus David de Lindsay," figures as High Justiciary of Lothian in 1238.† And the influence which it may be supposed the pious character of Earl David exerted over him was evinced by successive grants to Newbattle of further districts in the territory of Crawford,—of the vale of the Alwyn in 1232, of the valleys of Glengonar and Glencapel in 1239, and furthermore, of a salt-work in the Carse of Callander, in Stirlingshire, given to his grandfather William de Lindsay by King William—the first and third of these donations being respectively for the souls of his brothers William—probably identical with a "W. de Linlissi," who was Chancellor of Scotland in 1231‡—and Walter, of whom he had been successively bereaved,§—and lastly, by his foundation, in association with his mother, of the monastery of Elcho, in Strathern, for Cistercian nuns, on a piece of ground which King Alexander had given her for that purpose.‖ He died in 1241,¶ and was succeeded by his brother Sir Gerard, who confirmed the preceding grants to Newbattle, and added to them the privileges of the chase and free forest, hitherto carefully reserved, with the usual immunities,

* See the *Lit. Claus.*, pp. 384, 386, 387, 494; the *Excerpta a Rotulis Finium*, 6 Feb. 1222; and the *Lit. Claus.*, p. 628, 31 Oct. 1223.

† *Chart. de Lesmor*, p. 31.

‡ If this identification be correct, William must have been young, to fill such an office; but it seems warranted by the facts that W. de Lindsay appears and disappears as Chancellor in the same year, 1231, and that in 1232 David de Lindsay mortifies lands for the soul of his brother William, probably just dead.

§ *Chart. Newbattle*, MS.—The Confirmation by Alexander II. of the grant of Brotherstwyn is dated the eighteenth year of his reign, and that of the grant of Glengonar the twenty-fifth.

‖ *Chart. Dunfermline.*—David's charter was granted before 1238, "Dominus G.," i. e. Galfridus, Prior of Dunfermline, elected as abbot in that year, being one of the witnesses. "Domina Margeria de Lyndesaya" and "R. de Crawford," David's chaplain, are also witnesses. Marjory may have been his grandmother, or his wife, for he was married, though he had no children,—this appears from his charter of Glengonar, in or before the year 1239, *Chart. Newbattle.*

¶ In which year, on the 18th of May, Henry III. received his successor's homage. *Excerpta ex Rotulis Finium*, p. 342.

extending over all the lands conferred by his predecessors.* Sir Gerard died in 1249,† and the whole of his broad territories, both in Scotland and England, devolved on his sister, Alice de Lindsay,

* *Chart. Newbattle.*—The charter of Confirmation was granted between the 16th May, 1241, when Gerard did homage to King Henry as his brother's heir, and 1242, when Sir Walter Olifard, Justiciary of Lothian, one of the witnesses, died. The charter of free forest has no date, but was probably granted shortly before his death, as the Confirmation by Alexander II. is granted "ad instantiam Gerardi de Lyvyldesay, qui nobis super hoc in vita sua supplicavit."—"The extensive property, in this territory, of the monks of Newbattle, comprehended," says Mr. Chalmers, "the western side of the valley of the Dser, the whole valleys of the Powtrail and Elwan, the last whereof was anciently called Alwyn, the valley of Glengonar and the smaller valley of Glencapel, eastward to the Hurlebarn. This ample district was constituted a free forest with the usual privileges by a charter of Alexander II. to the said monks. It was afterwards" (by Sir David Lindsay of Crawford) "erected a barony, which was called the barony of Priemuir, or Crawford-muir, and the monks had an ample jurisdiction over the whole. This extensive property contained the valuable range of lead-mines, which were called the Lead-hills, in the upper part of Glengonar; and also the places where the gold-mines were formerly wrought, at the *gold scours*, in the valley of the Elwan, and the gold-mines in the lower part of Glengonar." The Carmichaels of Meadowflat were afterwards the hereditary bailiffs of the barony of Crawford-muir, under the monks of Newbattle. Chalmers' *Caledonia*, tom. ii. p. 733.

† In which year his sister and heiress paid her homage, by her husband. *Rot. Orig. in Curiâ Scacc. Abbrev.*, tom. i. p. 11.—Either Gerard or his grandfather had erected the village of Crawford into a burgh, (as alluded to in the gloss given in the preceding note,) and he specially reserves the rights of "his burgesses of Crawford" in the charter of free-forest, above mentioned, to Newbattle. "The village of Crawford," says Mr. Chalmers, "was constituted a burgh of barony as early as the reign of William the Lion by a grant from the progenitor of the district to a certain number of persons of small portions of lands in the vicinity, with the right of common pasturage and other easements. These burgesses have in modern times been called Lairds and their wives Lailies."—"They have been used," says Mr. Heron, about fifty years ago, "to hold what has been called a Freedom, consisting of four or five acres of croft-land for each family, with the privilege of feeding each a certain number of sheep, cows, and horses on the hill or common pasture."—"The several rights and police of this petty community," adds Mr. Chalmers, "were regulated by Birlaw Courts, which were held weekly, in which each member or Laird had a vote. They were noisy, and the members regularly adjourned to the alehouse."—"This establishment seems to have been formed for the maintenance of the retainers of the Lords."—Chalmers' *Caledonia*, tom. iii. p. 735; Heron's *Travels in Scotland*.

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* A gloss in the Chartulary enumerates the process of donation by the successive Lords of Crawford, as follows:—"Nota, quod Willelmus de Lyvyldesay, qui contulit terram Brotheralwyne et Pedirtheth, habuit filium nomine David, qui confirmavit donationem paternam, ut superius. Iste vero David habuit duos filios, scilicet, David primogenitum, qui contulit terram que est inter Brotheralwyn et rivulum de Glengonar. Sed iterque dominus retinuit sibi aves et feras. Gerardus vero, frater istius David posterioris, libertatem foreste contulit, nichil sibi vel suis reservans preter materiem edificandi tantum pro civibus suis de Crawford."

wife of Sir Henry Pinkeney, a great baron of Northamptonshire, whose grandson Sir Robert claimed the Crown of Scotland at the competition in 1292, as descended from the Princess Marjory through his grandmother Alice de Lindsay.* Sir Robert's brother and heir, Sir Henry Pinkeney, having no children, resigned his whole estates to Edward I. and his heirs for ever; but Crawford and its dependencies had even before his death been seized and declared forfeit by the Scottish authorities, and bestowed on Sir Alexander Lindsay of Luffness, the ancestor of the more recent House of Crawford.†

I now proceed to the House of Lamberton, descendants of Sir Walter de Lindsay, second son of William of Crawford, the Justiciary. They rose to a degree of power surpassing that of their elder brethren of Crawford. For four successive generations, all of them married heiresses. Their progenitor, Sir Walter, was High Justiciary of Lothian,‡ Constable, or Sheriff, of Berwick, then the emporium of Britain, under William the Lion,§ was sent ambassador to King John, with the Bishop of St. Andrews, Ingelram de Baliol, and three other great barons, by King Alexander in 1215,‖—and, taking part with the English barons that

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. ii. p. 576; and *vide supra*, p. 25, note §.—Even the corrected statement given by Lord Hailes, *Annals of Scotland*, tom. ii. p. 343, confounds John de Limesay with David de Lindsay, husband of Marjory.

† Inferred from the fact of Crawford having been held since the commencement of the fourteenth century by Lindsays not descended from Alice, the heiress,—coupled with the historical fact of the confiscation of the lands held by Englishmen in Scotland, and analogous instances of the distribution of lands so confiscated.—For mandates by Edward I. to John de Warenne Earl of Surrey, Governor of Scotland, to take possession of "omnes terras et tenementa" which Robert de Pinkeney had held within the kingdom, and to give his brother and heir, Henry de Pinkeney, seizin of them, Henry having in the mean while paid his homage,—dated respectively 24 Oct. 1296, and 18 Feb. 1296-7, see the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, tom. i. pp. 36, 38.—I am aware of no other notices of the Pinkeneys in connection with Scotland.

‡ *Chart. Soltre*, MS.; *Chart. Newbattle*, MS.

§ *Chart. Soltre*, MS.; *Chart. Coldingham*, ap. Raine's *N. Durham*, App. pp. 122, 123; *Chart. Kelso*, pp. 42, 245; *Chart. Newbattle*, MS.—I rather think he did not hold these offices subsequently to the death of William the Lion.—For the wealth of Berwick in the thirteenth century, see Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, tom. ii. p. 305. —"The Chronicle of Lanercost describes it as a city of such populousness and commerce that it might justly be styled a second Alexandria, whose riches were the sea, and the waters its walls: the citizens were most wealthy and devout." Chalmers' *Caledonia*.

‖ Rym. *Fœd.*, tom. i. p. 203; *Rot. Lit. Patent.*, tom. i. p. 150.

year, under the banner of Alexander, was in the following spring punished by King John by the seizure of his lands in Huntingdonshire,* which he probably held by investiture of his uncle Prince David, the Earl of that county. Sir Walter bestowed the churches of Fordington and Ulseby, in Lincolnshire, on Croyland Abbey before 1202,† and before 1212 entered into a curious convention with Arnald, Prior of Coldingham, by which the latter, as patron of the mother church, (probably of Morthington,) concedes that Walter during his life may have mass performed in the chapel which he had built in his court of Lamberton, on condition that there should be no access to the chapel except through the middle of his hall or chamber, that the chapel should be served only by the chaplain of the mother church, or by a passing chaplain, who should not serve for more than one or two days, and that there should be no mass said in the chapel on the five great festivals, namely Christmas, Candlemas, Easter, Whitsunday, and the day of the dedication of the parish church. The chapel of Lamberton afterwards became the parish church, and figures in more than one scene of our Scottish annals.‡ Sir Walter de Lindsay died either in 1221 or 1222,§ leaving a son and heir, Sir William, who figures as a guarantee of peace with England at the convention at York in 1237,‖ and, along with Sir David of

* "Mandatum est Vicecomiti Huntingdon, quod habere faciet Rogerio de Millers terram quæ fuit Walteri de Lindseye in Mallesworth (Molesworth)." *Lit. Claus.*, p. 250.—The Lindsays would seem however to have regained this property; Sir Gilbert Lindsay was Lord of Molesworth in the time of the first three Edwards, as will be seen hereafter.

† "Walterus de Lindesie venit et recognovit cartam suam et donationem quam fecerat et warantizavit Abbatie de Croiland super ecclesiis de Fordington et Ulseby." *Abbrev. Placit.*, p. 32.

‡ Raine's *N. Dunhaus*, App. p. 112; and information from Joseph Robertson, Esq., of Glasgow.

§ "Dominus Walterus de Lindeseie" is a witness in that year, (vide Appendix, No. I., Head III., n. 2,) but was dead in 1222, when "P. de Wallonis, per consensum Domini Regis, accepit in uxorem ——, quondam uxorem Walteri de Lindesein, contra ipsius voluntatem, eo quod essent in tertio vel quarto gradu consanguinitatis vel affinitatis propinqui; unde et ipse P. Romam adiit, et a Domino Papa dispensacionem in contracto conjugio permanendi, prout ipse retulit, impetravit." *Chron. Melrose*, p. 140.—"P. de Wallonis" may have been the celebrated Philip, the Chamberlain. He had however a son grown up at the time, William de Valoines.

‖ *Rym. Fœd.*, tom. i. p. 377; *Matth. Paris*, p. 437, edit. 1644.—The name is misprinted "Langespey" in Rymer.

Luffness, at the still more important one in 1244,*—and whose marriage with Alice, sister and coheiress of William de Lancaster, Lord of Kendal, a descendant of the Earls of Anjou, brought the moiety of that immense inheritance into the House of Lamberton,—the Lindsay portion including the beautiful and classic districts of Winandermere and Grassmere, with various other estates in Westmoreland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, more recently known collectively as the "Richmond Fee,"—Warton, in the latter county, being assigned as the chief seat or demesne.† Sir William was succeeded by his son, Walter de Lindsay, whose charter of liberties to Warton, a very curious document, has been printed by Mr. Baines in his History of Lancashire,‡—and Walter§ by his son, Sir William, who cemented a close connection previously existing between the Lindsays of Lamberton and the Baliols by marrying Ada, eldest surviving sister of the unfortunate King John, and ultimately eldest coheir to her nephew Edward, pseudo-King of Scotland. Sir William was killed in

* Rym. *Fœd.*, tom. i. p. 426; *Matth. Paris*, p. 640; *Tytler*, tom. i. App. p. 422. —Eight years previously, in 1236, William de Lindsay, Henry de Baliol, and Master Abel, came to King Henry, and prayed that he would restore the Earldom of Huntingdon to the King of Scotland, as having ward of the heirs of John le Scot, son of David Earl of Huntingdon, deceased. *Abbrev. Plac.*[sic], p. 105; Palgrave's *Documents concerning the History of Scotland*, p. 1.

† For the history of the Lancasters, and their Lindsay successors, see Dugdale's *Baronage*, tom. i. p. 421, and *Monasticon*, tom. v. p. 248; the *Hist. of Cumberland* by Nicholson and Burn, tom. i. pp. 30 sqq.; Wet's *Antiquities of Furness Abbey*, pp. 28 sqq.; Baines' *History of Lancashire*, tom. iv. pp. 457 sqq.; Whitaker's *Hist. of Richmond*, tom. ii. p. 477.

‡ Tom. iv. p. 571.—"By this deed, which is without date, he confirmed to his free burgesses of Warton, to have their burgages as freely as they could of right acquire in the town of Warton, to hold to themselves, their heirs or assigns, excepting religious men, clerks, and Jews, with all the appertenances and liberties, with certain exceptions mentioned in the charter." The original is preserved among the Lansdowne MSS., Cod. 559, fol. 140.

§ The arms of Walter are blazoned, "de gowles, ung faux escocheon varrer," in a roll of arms compiled between 1243 and 3 Dec. 1247, published by Sir N. H. Nicolas. These arms being a variation of those borne by the Baliols, imply a close alliance already existing between the families.—In 1275 we find notice that Edward I., for a fine of twenty-four marks, pardoned and remitted to Walter Percy of Kildale the transgression he had been guilty of, "ducendo in uxorem Cristianam, que fuit uxor Walteri de Lindesaye defuncti, que de Rege tenuit in capite, sine licentiâ et voluntate Regis," &c.—she being an heiress. *Rot. Orig. in Curiâ Scacc.*, tom. i. p. 28.—Edmund, brother of the King, petitions for the homage of William de Lindsay, tenant of the honour of Lancaster, in 1278. *Rot. Lit. Patent.*, tom. i. p. 7.

battle against Llewellyn Prince of Wales on the sixth of November, 1283,* and the whole of his vast estates, both in England and Scotland—the former comprising above seventeen manors,† besides "feoda" and "terræ," towns and hamlets, numberless; the latter extending, as held *in capite* of the Crown, over twenty-five Scottish sheriffdoms or counties,‡—devolved on his daughter and heiress, Christiana de Lindsay, wife of Ingelram de Guignes, second son of Arnold III., Count of Guignes and Namur, and Sire de Coucy in right of his mother Alice, the heiress of that House, so illustrious in history and romance§—and to whom she had been married by her cousin King Alexander III. before

* For William de Lindsay's summonses to perform military service in person against Llewellyn, in 1277 and 1282, see Sir F. Palgrave's *Writs*, tom. i. pp. 194, 243.—The chronicler Knyghton describes the manner of his death:—"Quod cum Rex audisset et intellexit, disposuit se cum Baronibus suis ire in Walliam ad bellandum contra perjurum et nequam Lewlinum et Davidem fratrem ejus; sed ista guerra erat ferox, fortis, et tediosa, nam in hyeme contigerat; Lewlinus instauravit castrum de Snowdonne de victualibus et hominibus armatis, adeò quod Rex nescivit ubi haberet ingressum; Angli verò per brachium maris venire fecerunt barcas, batellas, naviculas, et grossas planchas ad faciendum passagium dicto castello tam pedestribus quàm equestribus; sed Walienses adeò fortes erant, quod Anglicos in fugam retornarebant, ita quod contrarius Anglorum tam festinus et grandis exitit ad fugiendum, quod pondus eorum supprimit barcas in profundo, et nulli haud milites ibidem fuerunt nece salvati, viz. Dominus Rogerus de Clifford, Dominus Willielmus de Lindesey filius, &c. et multitudo magna aliorum; et hoc contigit in die Sancti Leonardi." *Chron. ap. Twysden, Scriptores*, col. 2464.

† Those, to wit, of Winandermere, (including the island called Le Holme, the capital messuage of the barony of Kendal,) Grasmere, Langden, Applethwaite, Stirkland Ketill, Hutun in Hay, Casterton, and half the manor of Kirkby Kendal, in Westmoreland; of Morkelm, Wyresdale, Ulverstone, Hernford, Walerston, Ashton, Stretford Whityngton, in Lancashire,—and of Middleton Tyas, and Thorutes in Lonsdale, in Yorkshire. See the *Inquis. post Mortem*, under the names of William de Lindsay, "Ingelramus de Gynes et Christiana uxor ejus," and William de Coucy, tom. i. pp. 80, 309; tom. ii. pp. 110, 133, 142, 172, 349, 354.

‡ Those, to wit, of "Edenburgh, Hadyngton, Berewyk, Pebles, Selkirk, Jedeworth, Rokisburgh, Dunfres, Wyggeton, Are, Kenzyre, Dunbretan, Lanark, Strivilyn, Perth, Clachmannan, Linlisco, Fif, Forfar, Kincardyn, Aberden, Fyvin (?), Banff, Inernarn, Elgin, Forais, Invernes,"—as enumerated in mandates by Edward I. to the several Sheriffs to repossess Ingelram in his lands within their respective bounds, "quia . . semper in fide nostrâ permansit," and in others, relating to his subsistants, 4, 8, and 10 Sept. 1296, *Rot. Scot.*, tom. i. pp. 28, 30.—Neither Robert Bruce, nor any of the barons in whose favour similar letters were addressed at the same time, appear to have possessed property in half the number of counties.

§ They were of the old peers, or immediate feudatories of France, and usually matched with princes. Their motto is well known,—

"Je ne suis Roy ni prince aussi,
Je suis le Seigneur de Coucy."

1285.* She conveyed indeed a far richer inheritance to her children in the representation of the ancient Scoto-Pictish dynasty of Scotland, and of the original Saxon line of England, including Edward the Confessor, Alfred the Great, Egbert, Cerdic, and Odin,—all centering ultimately, through eldest sons and heiresses, her direct representatives, in Henry IV. of France, and through him in the present Duchesse d'Angoulême, daughter of Louis XVI.†

Finally I must trace the descendants of William de Lindsay, the third son of William of Ercildun and Crawford. His appanage was the barony of Luffness in Haddingtonshire, and he figures in the charters as "William son of William" to distinguish him from his contemporary nephew, William son of Walter, of Lamberton. He lived till 1236, and was succeeded by his eldest son Sir David Lindsay of Brenwevil and the Byres, properties that he had acquired before his father's death.‡ He acted as High Justiciary of Lothian from 1243 to 1249,§ and, on the convention between Scotland and England in 1244, was one of the four great barons who swore on the soul of their lord the king, that the conditions then entered into should be kept invio-

* It is in Christiana's right that he figures as a Scottish magnate in the great Assemblies at Scone, 5 Feb. 1283-4, and at Brigham, 17 March 1289-90, and thereafter on occasions innumerable both in Scotland and England. He was a devoted adherent to Edward in his Scottish wars. He succeeded to the Sirerie of Couey in 1311, and spent the rest of his life in France, where he died in 1321. Christiana seems to have returned to England after his death. Duchesne, *Hist. de la Maison de Guines*, pp. 253, 451; *Preuves*, p. 302.

† See the Pedigree of Christiana's descendants in the Appendix, No. III.—For this pedigree, and for the notice of Sir William's marriage with Ada de Baliol, as well as for other valuable pieces of information, I am indebted to the kindness of my friend Alexander Sinclair, Esq.—See also Mr. Sinclair's disquisition on the representation of the House of Baliol in the appendix to his *Treatise on Heirs Male*, pp. 135, 141. The barony of Baliol was claimed in 1305 by Radulphus, or Enguerrand de Coucy, "ut consanguineus et heres proximior defuncti Edwardi Dessini de Ballolio," in right of his grandmother, Christiana, and it was adjudged to him accordingly, as appears from his designation, "Dominum de Ballolio," in 1369. *Hist. de la Maison de Guines, Preuves*, pp. 441, 442.

‡ He is styled "of Bramilwevell" in a charter of Garnetton and Byres, granted to him by Gilbert Earl of Pembroke, who had obtained the Lordship of Haddington in marriage with the Princess Margaret, sister of Alexander II. See the Appendix, No. I., Head IV. III. 2.

§ Witness as Justiciary to a charter of Alexander II. to the Bishopric of Argyle, 10 Nov. 1243—confirmed 26 Sept. 1507, *Reg. Mag. Sig.*;—1243, *Chart. Melrose*, p. 172;—1245-6, *Chart. Kelso*, p. 309;—12 Nov. 1246, *Chart. Scone*, No. 81;—8 Feb. 1247, *Chart. Melrose*, p. 176;—1240-1249, *Chart. Balmerinoch*, p. 10;—8 July, 1249, *charter, confirmed* 26 Sept. 1507, *Reg. Mag. Sig.*

late by him and his posterity.* His piety evinced itself in grants to the Abbeys of Balmerinach and Newbattle,† and was inherited by his son, Sir David, who, after figuring as one of the Regents of Scotland during the intestine struggles of 1255,‡ and as High Chamberlain in 1256,§ and granting a charter of freedom to the Abbey of Aberbrothock, now Arbroath, from toll and custom in all the ports of his territories,‖ perished in the crusade of St. Louis.¶ He left a son, afterwards Sir Alexander, a minor, under the guardianship of his brother Sir John de Lindsay, a baron of great power in Northumberland through his wife Dionysia,** and in Scotland through the influence centering in him as representative of the Lindsays during his nephew's minority.†† He acted as High Chamberlain for several years under the virtuous and noble Alexander III., the last of the royal Celtic

* Rym. *Fœd.*, tom. i. p. 426, &c. Vide *supra*, p. 20, note *.

† To Balmerinach of twenty shillings yearly from his mill of Brunwvil in Ayrshire, for the welfare of the soul of Ermengarde of good memory, Queen of Scotland, "domine mee," confirmed on the 28th March, 19 Alex. II.,—i. e. 1233, *Chart. Balmerinach*, p. 18;—To Newbattle, "ut quieti sint perpetuis temporibus in portu de Laffenauch ab omni tolnagio et ab omni alia consuetudine que exigi vel evenire potest." *Chart. Newbattle*, MS.—The port of Lufness, now Aberlady, is the nearest to the town of Haddington.

‡ Act by the King "de consilio magnatum nostrorum," &c. *Acts Parl.*, tom. i. p. 77; Rym. *Fœd.*, tom. i. p. 366.

§ Fordun and Bower, *Scotichronicon*, tom. ii. p. 90.—The appointment was for seven years, though, in consequence of a change of administration, he did not retain it for that time.

‖ The style of this charter resembles that of a letter rather than a legal grant:—"Omnibus, &c. David de Lindsay salutem in Domino. Noveritis me . . dedisse . . Abbati et Conventui Sancti Thome Martyris de Aberbrothock, et ipsi et eorum homines quieti sint et liberi a tholonio et consuetudine per totam terram et per omnes portus terre mee. Et in hujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Valete." *Chart. Aberbrothock*, p. 97.

¶ Bellenden's *Boece*, tom. ii. p. 348; Dugd. *Monast.*, tom. vi. p. 1155; *Family Genealogies*.—It was probably in the last crusade of St. Louis in 1268, which was joined by many of the Scottish nobility.

** Extracts from the 'Magnus Rotulus Pipæ,' 1267 and 1269, in Hodgson's *Hist. Northumberland*, tom. ii. pt. i. pp. 273, 283.—He figures too in 1287, as having infeoffed Johanna, wife of William le Chamberlein, in the villa or manerium of Pettesho in Suffolk, held of the honour of Huntingdon, *Plac. de quo Warranto*, p. 97.—A John de Lindsay witnesses the charter of creation of the burgh of Newtyle, in 1264, and a charter of Alexander III. 4 March 1266, *Chart. Lindores*, p. 8.—It may be observed too, that David de Lindsay, the Chamberlain in 1256, was possessed in 1265 of Children in Tynedale, a district held by the Kings of Scotland in Northumberland. *Calend. Rot. Chart.*, p. 88.

†† On this point see the Appendix, No. I. Head IV. 12.

race,* and was one of the Magnates Scotiæ who acknowledged Margaret of Norway, grand-daughter of Alexander, as the heiress apparent of Scotland, in the celebrated convention at Scone in February, 1283-4,† but disappears in 1289, when Sir Alexander takes his place, as chief of the race, in the convention at Brigham, after the death of King Alexander,‡ when the storm was already beginning to threaten the independence of Scotland.

SECTION IV.

Hitherto, you will have observed, there had been constant and friendly intercourse between Scotland and England,—many barons held lands on both sides of the Tweed, and many a border minstrel might have begun his lay, like Albert Græme, with

> "It was an English lady bright,
> The sun shines fair on Carlisle wall!
> And she would marry a Scottish knight,
> For Love will still be Lord of all."

The fact was, that the nobles, whether of England or Scotland, were as yet neither English nor Scottish, but Norman. Nationality, at least in Scotland, there was little or none,—the charters of the kings (as I have already observed) are addressed to "French, English, Scots," the latter name being restricted to the Celtic population. Each race was living distinct and apart, the Saxon and Norman indeed assimilated and fused to a considerable degree, and more so perhaps than in England,§ but the Celtic or more genuine Scottish stock, the heirs of all the ancient traditions of the country, standing proudly aloof. Nothing could have brought about the fusion of these different races, or created a spirit of nationality and patriotism, so effectually as an attack

* He is Chamberlain in May, 1278, *Chart. Dunfermline*, p. 52,—2 Oct. 1279, *Ibid.*, p. 53,—4 July, 1280, *Charter* printed in *Raine's N. Durham*, App. No. 77,—and probably, says Crawford, continued to hold the office during the remaining years of King Alexander. *Lives of Officers of State*, p. 265.

† *Acts Parl.*, tom. i. p. 82.

‡ *Acts*, tom. i. p. 85.

§ The Saxons, it will be remembered, were settlers in Scotland on the same political footing as the Normans—not as oppressed and conquered race as in England.

upon the rights and liberties of all concerned by a foreign power,—and the creation of this nationality, the fusion of Normans, Saxons, and Celts into Scotsmen, is in fact the historical moral as it was the providential result of the great struggle under Wallace and Bruce against England and Edward during the latter years of the thirteenth and the commencement of the fourteenth century.* The period between the death of Alexander III. and the accession of the Stuarts, represented in the Scottish annals by the dynasty of Bruce, forms therefore a second and distinct period in the history of modern Scotland. My sketch of this period must however be very brief.

I have already mentioned the fact that the Scottish kings held their crown under the superiority of those of England, and were in fact their vassals—a term to which modern ideas only have attached the sense of degradation. From the days of Edgar in 974, when, in his triumph on the Dee, Kenneth of Scotland, and seven of his brother kings, the pillars of the Saxon empire, rowed the royal barge of the Basileus, while the latter steered,† to the revolt and submission of Malcolm Caenmore, this homage was recognised and paid, at longer or shorter intervals. These intervals became longer after the Norman Conquest, but the homage paid by David I. to Henry of England, in whose court he sat and voted as premier peer precisely as his ancestors had sat in the Witteneagemot‡—the unconditional submission and fealty sworn to by William the Lion and his nobles after his capture by the English in 1174§—the claim of Henry III. to the supremacy of Scotland, a claim evaded indeed rather than acknowledged in the treaty of 1244, to which David and William de Lindsay are guarantees‖—and the general and unreserved homage and fealty

* This has been remarked, I believe for the first time, by Mr. Burton, in his *Life of Simon Lord Lovat*, p. 4.

† Palgrave's *Hist. English Commonwealth*, tom. i. p. 477; tom. ii. p. cclii.

‡ *Palgrave*, tom. ii. p. cccxxxv.

§ *Ibid.*, tom. ii. p. cccxxxvii.—This homage was not renounced, as is commonly understood, by Richard I.,—things were left exactly as they were. *Ibid.*, tom. i. p. 615; tom. ii. p. cccxxxviii.

‖ The charter granted by Alexander to Henry commences with an explicit and general acknowledgment of service and duty, and then adds that the convention at York is to hold good, this convention relating simply to a compromise between Alexander and Henry, by which Henry gave the Scottish King certain lands in the North of England, for which he swore fealty. See *Rymer*, tom. ii. pp. 428, 574.

vowed to Edward I. by Alexander III. in 1278*—are facts in no wise to be distinguished in character, as affecting the political dependence of Scotland, from the long array of earlier precedents. The truth would appear to be, that subsequently to the Conquest a principle of reservation and ambiguity gradually crept into the language of diplomatic intercourse between Scotland and England, and was wisely encouraged by both nations, in order to prevent any interruption to the cordial understanding that prevailed between them; but that nevertheless the ancient claim still survived, and from time to time asserted its vitality, as witnessed in the preceding instances.† Admitting this—which, I repeat, involves no degradation according to feudal notions—we are rescued from the inevitable, and surely more unpalatable alternative, of confessing our ancestors in 1174 and 1290 to have been dastards and villains. And it is the only theory on which the whole series of early transactions between England and Scotland receives a clear and intelligible explanation.

The English claim had hitherto been limited to that of simple superiority, but Edward, a prince of genius, sagacity, and power, resolved on a more decided policy, and to reduce Scotland to an integral part of his own dominions. Circumstances conspired in every way to facilitate his purpose. A proposal was started, it does not appear, though we may guess, by whose suggestion, that Margaret of Norway, the heiress of the Scottish crown, should be espoused to the youthful Edward Prince of Wales, the heir of England. The idea was hailed with transport both South and North of the Tweed,—Sir Alexander Lindsay, as I have already mentioned, was one of the Scottish nobles who agreed to it at the great Council held at Brigham in 1289; and a treaty was concluded with the plenipotentiaries of Edward, by which the "rights, laws, liberties, and customs of the kingdom of Scotland, civil and ecclesiastical, as hitherto observed and in use," were secured to the nation for ever, whether heirs should spring from the marriage or not, without forfeiture of their integrity or independence; while

* *Rymer*, tom. ii. p. 126.

† See Lingard's observations, *Hist. of England*, tom. iii. p. 276,* observations which in my youth rendered me indignant and furious; but the great lesson of life is to face truth. I still indeed think Dr. Lingard's representation of Edward's conduct and character too favourable.

at the same time a proviso was appended, saving all preexisting rights either on the side of Edward or of Scotland,—which left the question of superiority precisely where it was before.*

Margaret, however, the heir of so many hopes and anxieties, died on her voyage to Scotland, and her death and the intrigues of Edward brought forward ten competitors for the Crown,† among whom John de Baliol and Robert de Bruce were distinguished as possessing the highest claims, Baliol as representing the eldest, and Bruce the second daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon,—Bruce maintaining, that as he was one degree nearer in blood than Baliol to the late king, his claim was preferable—a plea founded upon the ancient Scoto-Pictish law, now superseded.‡

Edward assumed the office of arbiter, but demanded a previous recognition of his superiority, as Lord Paramount. The competitors and the assembled nobles hesitated at this, but the claim was based, as they well knew, upon hereditary rule and precedent, and they complied. He then announced "that although he now asserted his right of superiority with the view of giving judgment to the competitors, yet that he meant not to relinquish his right of property in the kingdom of Scotland, acclaimable thereafter in fit manner,"—intimating, in other words, in contradiction to the principle on which all parties had hitherto proceeded, "that the kingdom of Scotland was a male fief and not descendible to heirs-female, and consequently that it had returned to himself as Lord Paramount, in default of heirs-male,"—the inference from this new principle being, that "if any of the competitors should hereafter dispute his right of superiority, Edward reserved his right of property to be asserted in fit manner and time convenient."§

Having made this protestation, Edward demanded nothing further than the acknowledgment of superiority, which was given by a formal instrument, executed by the ten competitors, on the 3rd of June, 1291.

A council or jury was now appointed, composed of forty com-

* Hailes' *Annals*, tom. i. p. 190.

† One of them, as above noticed, being Robert de Pinkeney, heir of line of the original Lindsays of Crawford.

‡ Skene's *Highlanders*, tom. i. p. 160.

§ Hailes' *Annals*, tom. i. p. 204.

missioners appointed by Baliol forty by Bruce,* and twenty-four by Edward; and, after long pleadings and investigations, Edward pronounced judgment in favour of Baliol, renewing at the same time his caveat or protest, "that it should not impair his claim to the property of Scotland."† Baliol swore fealty at Norham on the 20th November, 1292, and was immediately put by Edward in possession of the kingdom.

Baliol was undoubtedly a weak man, but I am doubtful whether he deserve the extreme reprobation bestowed on him by our historians,—all of them, be it remembered, writing subsequently to the war of independence, and when the knowledge of the original relations of the two kingdoms had died away. In acknowledging the superiority of Edward, he did no more than his predecessors had done before him,—and no special acknowledgment of the claim of property was required. You will observe the distinction between the two claims,—it is a most important one, and the hinge, as it appears to me, on which the whole question turns. The claim of superiority was ancient and lawful—that of property a novelty and unjust, a tyrannical encroachment, generating and justifying resistance.

Edward's ulterior purposes stood revealed from this moment. Having asserted his right of property on Scotland, and leaving the feudal inference to be deduced by others, he proceeded to act upon the scheme laid down, as I conceive, in the recesses of his own heart—a deliberate scheme to goad the unhappy Baliol into rebellion. He encouraged appeals from the Scottish to the English courts, insisted on his personal attendance in reply to them, interfered unwarrantably in his interior administration, and required him and his barons to contribute supplies and service for his wars in Gascony. The eyes of the Scottish nobles were now opened—they evaded these demands, negotiated a treaty of alliance with France, appointed a council for the conduct of public affairs, dismissed Baliol's English followers, invaded Northumberland, and persuaded or compelled their monarch to renounce his fealty to Edward.

Edward's object was thus gained—Baliol was in rebellion. He marched to Scotland, defeated the Scots at the battle of Dunbar,

* Two of Bruce's commissioners were Lindsays, as will be mentioned presently.
† Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 221.

and reduced the whole kingdom to submission,—the record of which is still preserved in the celebrated Ragman Roll, where the names of almost all the Lindsays then flourishing in Scotland, with their chief Sir Alexander, are found inscribed as swearing fealty to Edward—in fellowship with those of the whole remaining baronage and commonwealth of Scotland, with the exception, an honourable distinction, of Sir William Wallace and Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell,*—while it must in fairness be remembered, that, even had the homage thus rendered acknowledged (as it did not) the property in the soil asserted by Edward, such a submission, interpreted by the morality of the times, as an oath extorted under compulsion, would not have been considered dishonourable.

The unhappy Baliol in the mean while submitted to Edward, abjured his Crown, was sent to the Tower, and thereafter permitted to retire to France, where he spent the remainder of his days in obscurity. The nation was sunk in despondency, when her prospects once more brightened, and Wallace, the immortal Wallace, came to the rescue.

Among the first to join him were the High Steward of Scotland, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, the recent competitor, Sir William Douglas, Sir Andrew Moray, and Sir Alexander Lindsay; but heart-burnings arose, and all of them, except Sir Andrew, submitted for the time to Edward.† Sir Alexander however soon rejoined the patriots, and had the honour, at the close of the protracted struggle, in 1304-5, to be one of the seven allies of Wallace, specially excepted by Edward out of the general con-

* The Lindsays enumerated in Ragman Roll are the following:—Sir Alexander, Sir Philip, (of Wykingby,) Johan de Lindsay, of Lanarkshire, (perhaps the Chamberlain,) another Johan de Lindsay, Sire Wautier de Lindsay, of Edinburghshire, (evidently Sir Walter of Thurston and Craigie, presently to be mentioned,) Wautier de Lindsay, of Berwickshire, (of Parva Lamberton, also to be mentioned hereafter,) James de Lindsay, (son of Sir Walter of Thurston,) and Hugh de Lindsay, burgess of Jedworth.

† The instrument by which Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, "James Senescal de Escoce," or High Steward, "Alisaundre de Lindesele," "Johan frère le Senescal," and William de Douglas, acknowledge their rebellion and submit unconditionally to Edward, dated at Irvine, 9 July, 1297, is printed in Sir F. Palgrave's *Documents*, &c. p. 197,—and another, of the same date, by which the Bishop of Glasgow, the High Steward, and "Alisaundre de Lindesele" become "malnpernors," or sureties, for Robert Bruce's loyalty, till the latter shall give his daughter Marjory in pledge and release them, *ibid.* p. 199.—The originals of both are preserved in the Treasury of the Exchequer, London.

ditions of pardon offered to their unhappy countrymen, as having been more obstinate in their rebellion, and deserving more signal punishment,*—while the fact of his having received the accolade of knighthood from Edward's own hand some years before was remembered against him in aggravation.†

The "wycht" Sir Walter Lindsay,‡ of Thurston and Craigie, and his son, Sir James,§ cadets of the House of Luffness, or, as I must now term it, of Crawford, were among the contemporary adherents to the cause of Scottish liberty, and the latter more especially to that of his kinsman Robert Bruce the younger, its destined vindicator and redeemer. The circumstances which led to the decisive act, which flung Bruce upon his fortunes and led to the independence of Scotland, are unknown.‖ All that can be ascertained is, that Cumyn of Badenoch, popularly named the Red Cumyn, his personal rival, and the leader of the Baliol

* "Item, le Roy voudroit qe. Monsire Alexaundre de Lyndesele eust aucune penance outre les condicions du comun, por la fuyte qa'il fit du Roy, qui chevalier li fist."—*Indenture*, Palgrave's *Documents*, &c., p. 284.—In obedience to which it is afterwards "Ordene, que Monsire Alisandre de Lyndeseye demeorge hors d'Escoce par un deuy an." *Acts Parl.*, tom. i. p. 103; *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, tom. i. p. 213; Palgrave's *Writs*, tom. i. p. 162.

† It has been lately suggested by an ingenious writer, signing himself D. C., in the 'Scottish Journal,' that Wallace was, as his name implies, of Celtic origin,—that he personified the principle of Scottish nationality, as opposed to Saxon or Norman supremacy,—and that this was the secret of his intense hatred to the English, of his popularity with the lower classes in Scotland, and of the hostility shewn him by the nobility, who were of Norman or Saxon origin,—and finally, that the armies of Wallace were the patriarchal clans of Scotland, arrayed against the English, as in later times at Prestonpans and Culloden. See the *Scottish Journal*, tom. i. p. 262.

‡ He is so termed by Blind Harry, the metrical historian of Wallace, who frequently drew from original sources now lost. See Mr. Stevenson's Introduction to the *Wallace Papers*, Maitland Club, p. xiii.

§ Wautier de Lyndeseye and Johan de Lindesey were two of the forty commissioners chosen for Robert Bruce in the pleadings before Edward at Berwick in 1292. Rym. *Fœd.*, tom. ii. p. 556; Palgrave's *Documents*, p. 53.—Edward was Sir Walter's guest, probably by compulsion, at Thurston, on the 5th of July, 1292, William de Douglas, father of the "good Sir James," having sworn fealty to him on that day "in Capellâ Manerii Domini Walteri de Lyndeseye, in quo tunc diêtus Dominus Rex hospitabatur." Rym. *Fœd.*, tom. ii. p. 569.—Sir James's filiation is proved by the following notification:—"Item, Alisandre le Conners a demande per Thomas Conners son frere le droit des terres Monsr. James de Lyndeseye, fuiz et heir Sire Wautier de Lyndeseye, en le maneir de Thurreston, en conté de Berewyk." *Peticions des terres qui sont demandées en Escoce*; Palgrave's *Documents*, p. 314.—It would appear from this that Sir Walter was then dead.

‖ Fordun and Wyntown are trustworthy writers, but I am impressed with the strong arguments of Lord Hailes, *Annals*, tom. i. App. p. 354.

interest,* was at Dumfries at the same time with Bruce, that they held a secret conference in the church of the Minorites or Franciscans, that a quarrel arose between them, and that Bruce, in a paroxysm of rage, stabbed him on the steps of the high altar. Rushing to the door, he met Sir James Lindsay and Roger Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, who demanded what had disturbed him? "I doubt," replied Bruce, "I have slain Cumyn."—"Have you left it doubtful?" replied Lindsay.—"I make sicker," or "sure," rejoined Kirkpatrick,—wherewith they rushed into the church, and Kirkpatrick, asking the wounded baron whether he deemed he might recover, and hearing from him that he thought he might if he had proper leech-craft, stabbed him to the heart,†—a deed for which Bruce and his adherents were excommunicated as soon as the news reached the Holy See.

Bruce was defeated in his first battle, and a long period of misery and privation ensued, during which he skulked as a fugitive in the Highlands and Western coasts of Scotland, while Edward wreaked his vengeance on all his adherents that fell into his power; his brother, the beautiful Nigel Bruce, Sir Christopher and John Seyton, the Earl of Athol, and Sir Simon Frazer were put to death, the two latter with refined cruelty, and their heads placed beside Wallace's and those of the other Scottish patriots on London Bridge,—and Sir John Lindsay, the uncle and guardian apparently of Sir Alexander, only escaped a similar fate by perishing in the same battle at which Sir Simon Frazer was taken —that, namely, of Kirkencliff, near Stirling—the last desperate stand made against Edward after the flight of Bruce to Rachlin—and where Sir John was driven with his companions into the river, and drowned,—preferring death in the waters of his own free land to the tender mercies of Edward.‡

* He was not, as is commonly asserted, the next heir to the Crown after John Baliol,—that status was vested, first in Edward Baliol, King John's son, then a prisoner in England, and secondly in Christiana de Lindsay, Lady of Lamberton, daughter of Ada, King John's sister, Marjory, Cumyn's mother, being younger than Ada. This of course throws further discredit on the assertion that Cumyn and Bruce were the representatives of the two claims to the throne, and that Bruce offered to waive his right and support Cumyn's, on condition that the latter should resign to him his estates, or vice versâ.

† *Scotichronicon*, lib. xii. cap. 7; Buchanan, *Hist.*, lib. viii. cap. 28.

‡ Sir John's death is described as follows in a contemporary "Balad against the Scots," descriptive chiefly of the executions of Wallace and Frazer, and published

Fortune however, or rather Providence, soon smiled on Bruce. He quitted his retreat, landed in Scotland, and his career was thenceforth one of victory, the brightest page in Scottish history. Sir Alexander Lindsay, after invading Galloway in 1307, in company with Edward Bruce and Sir James Douglas,* the "good Lord James" of history and tradition,—after sitting as one of the great barons in the parliament of the 16th March, 1308-9, which acknowledged Robert Bruce as lawful King of Scotland,†—and granting a charter of lands near Montrose to the Dominican monks of Cupar in Angus,‡ disappears from the scene; but his son, the

"Schir Dawy the Lyndyssay,
That was true and of stedfast fay."

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by Ritson from a MS. of the time of Edward II., in the Harleian Library:—I give it in the ancient orthography:—

"Now schulle forge ther ich er let,[a]
Ant tellen on of Frisel, suc ich on tyhet;[b]
In the batayle of Kyrcheselyf Frysel was ytake;
Ys countenance abatede my host to make,
Eyrpde St'rslyn;[c]
Kayhtes and swynes,
Fremen and thrynes,
Monye with hym.

"So hii weren lyest on everuche halve,[d]
Somme slaye were, ant somme dreynte hemselve;[e]
Sire Johan of Lyndesaye nolde nout abyde,[f]
He wol into the water his fren him lyeyde,
To adrenche.[g]
Why nolden hii bewar?
Ther ne mai non azeyn stat!
Why nolden hii hem bythenche?"[h]

—*Ancient Songs*, p. 9.—The whole poem is extremely curious both in an historical and literary point of view.

* *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 212.

† *Acts Parl.*, tom. i. p. 99.—Sir Alexander is ranked first after the great officers of the Crown, Thomas Randolph, and "Jacobus dominus de Douglas."

‡ This gift, of the lands of Little Pert, is enumerated in a charter by Robert Bruce, 5 Oct. 1308, confirming the monks of Cupar in all their possessions. "Perhaps," observes Mr. Joseph Robertson, "we may find in this charter ground for conjecturing the existence of some connection between the great House of the Durwards and that of the Lindsays. The Durwards held large territories in Angus, in the very neighbourhood of Montrose, where they planted a convent of the Friars

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[a] "Now I will take up where I left off."
[b] "As I you behight," promised.
[c] "Striviling," Stirling.
[d] "Halve," half, or side.
[e] "And some drowned themselves."
[f] "Would not abide."
[g] "To drown."
[h] "Why would they not beware? There is no opposing [one's] star (or destiny). Why would they not bethink themselves?"

of Wyntown, the poetical Prior of Lochleven,* inherited his loyalty, and enjoyed through life the steady favour of his sovereign. He was either taken prisoner at the battle of Bannockburn, or had been in durance before it was fought, being exchanged, five months afterwards, along with his brothers Reginald and Alexander, afterwards Sir Alexander Lindsay, and Sir Andrew Moray.†

When, in compliance with Edward's entreaties, Pope John XXII. sent orders to excommunicate Bruce and his gallant followers on every Sunday and festival throughout the year, Sir David was one of the bold and faithful men who addressed to him from Arbroath—no longer as Saxons, Normans, or Celts, but under

Preachers of St. Domenic's rule; and Cupar was the favourite abbey of their race, in which they made their burial for several generations." Mr. Robertson suggests this in connection with the fact that the Lindsays held also part of the old Durward domains both in the parish of Kinerny, now united to that of Midmar, and that of Alford, in Aberdeenshire. The male line of the Durwards ended, in 1275, in Sir Alan, the "flower of chivalry," who left three daughters, coheiresses, whose marriages have not yet been discovered. Or the right of the Lindsays to the Aberdeenshire property might have been derived from the Fife family, who obtained the greater part, if not the whole, of the Lordship of Onele, soon after the extinction of the Durwards, and by whom its remains were surrendered to the Crown in the year 1389.

* *Cronykil*, lib. viii. cap. 40.—Though written in verse, we possess no historical record more minute, authentic, or curious, than Andrew of Wyntown's 'Orygynale Cronykyl of Scotland.' It was written at the request of his patron, Sir John Wemyss, of Reres and Kinealdrum. . . . "It would be unjust," says Mr. Tytler, in his graceful 'Lives of Scottish Worthies,' "to expect from a writer labouring under such disadvantages anything like a well-digested and classically constructed history, as this term is used in these modern days. We have, on the contrary, instead of a building of correct taste and Grecian proportion, an extraordinary and rambling edifice somewhat resembling the ancient castles, or picturesque monasteries, of the times in which the author lived; where, in defiance of all rules and orders, a chamber, or a chapter, was added, according to the exigency or the fancy of the moment. The language too, or materials with which his work is constructed, is as rude and venerable as the ivy-coloured walls, or weather-beaten pinnacles, upon which the waves of successive centuries have left the traces of their progress. Yet, what spectator of taste has not often preferred the ancient castle, with all its romantic disproportion, to the symmetrical beauty of the modern edifice? And where is the student, who is an enthusiast in the history and antiquities of his country, that would not rather read the quaint and homely descriptions of the Prior of Lochleven than the pages of modern writers, where vigour, freshness, and originality are so often sacrificed to insipid elegance?"

† *Rot. Scot.*, tom. i. p. 134; *Rym. Fœd.*, tom. iii. p. 502.

* Namely, Tulybraloch, Tulynahill, Balmakell, &c., now comprised within the estate of Cowinlee.

the united national appellation of Scotsmen—that memorable assertion of their country's independence, which it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning in any notice, however succinct, of this period of Scottish history. After denying all past, and disowning all future dependence upon England, and recapitulating the evils heaped upon them by the ambition of Edward, from which they had been freed by Bruce; "to him," they proceed, "we will adhere as to our rightful king, the preserver of our people, and guardian of our liberties; but should he ever dream of subjecting us to England, then will we do our utmost to expel him from the throne as a traitor and our enemy; we will chuse another king to rule over us; for NEVER, SO LONG AS ONE HUNDRED SCOTS ARE ALIVE, WILL WE BE SUBJECT TO THE YOKE OF ENGLAND. We fight not for glory, we strive not for riches or honour, but for that liberty which no good man will consent to lose but with his life. We are willing to do anything for peace, which may not compromise our freedom. If your Holiness disbelieve us, and continue to favour the English, giving undue credit to their false allegations, then be sure that God will impute to you all the calamities which our resistance to their injustice must necessarily produce. We commit the defence of our cause to God!"*

God did favour it. Victory followed victory, till Edward, weakened and disheartened, was fain to strike a truce with King Robert, to last for thirteen years from 1323, when Sir David Lindsay reappears as one of the Scottish guarantees for its observance.†

Years of steady, peaceful government succeeded under the mild rule of Bruce, till finally, on the 1st of March, 1328, at an English parliament assembled at York, he was formally acknowledged King of Scotland, and our country recognised for ever as a free and independent kingdom.‡

The aim of Bruce's life was now accomplished. Happier than the law-giver of Israel, he had been permitted to accompany his chosen people to the last through all their troubles, till he had established them free denizens of a free country, the land of their

* *Acta Parl.*, tom. i. p. 114; Fordun, *Scotichron.*, tom. ii. p. 275.
† Rym. *Fœd.*, tom. iii. p. 1025.
‡ Hailes' *Annals*, tom. i. p. 127.

children's love,—he had crowned his work of patriotism; he had won the wreath of glory. His star hovered over him awhile, as he leaned against the goal, weary with the race, but at last departed fairly, lingeringly but for ever, while slowly, amid a nation's sobs, he sank into the arms of death, a willing prey. Well indeed might Scotland, well may mankind, revere King Robert's name, for never, save Alfred the Great, did monarch so profit by adversity. Vacillating and infirm of purpose, a courtier and a timeserver at the footstool of Edward, during the days of Wallace, and betrayed into sacrilege and blood-shed on the very steps of the altar at Dumfries, he redeemed all by a constancy, a patriotism, a piety, alike in his troubles and his prosperity, which rendered him the pride and example of his contemporaries, and have been the theme of history and of a grateful posterity in all succeeding ages.—The Christian, the patriot, the wisest monarch, and the most accomplished knight of his age, and more endearing than all, the owner of a heart kind and tender as a woman's, we may indeed bless his memory, and visiting his tomb, pronounce over it his epitaph in the knightly words with which Sir Hector mourned over Sir Lancelot:—"There thou liest, thou that wert never matched of earthly knight's hands! And thou wert the most courteous knight that ever bare shield! And thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword! And thou wert the goodliest person that ever came among press of knights! And thou wert the meekest man and the gentlest that ever eat in hall among ladies! And thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in the rest!" Such, and more than this, was Bruce.

SECTION V.

But the struggle for Scottish independence was not yet over. The death of King Robert and the youth of his only son King David II. caused the intrigues of the English faction to spring up as thick as ever. Edward Baliol, the son and heir of King John, was set up by Edward, the Third of that name, now King of England, and marched for Scotland in 1332, at the head of three thousand infantry and four hundred men-at-arms. He was

accompanied by a gallant band of English knights, styled "the disinherited barons," or "les querelleurs"—claimants, that is to say, of the lands of which their fathers had been dispossessed in the war of independence. It was altogether an expedition quite in keeping with the romance of the period, and was very nearly being successful. Baliol was victorious in his first battle, that of Dupdin, which must have fallen heavily on the Lindsays, if the statement of Boethius, that eighty gentlemen of the name fell, have the slightest foundation in truth.* Baliol proceeded to Scone, where he was crowned, entrusting the government of Perth to the Earl of Fife, who was ejected by Sir Alexander Lindsay and Sir Robert Keith, after three months' siege, when Sir John Lindsay of Wauchopdale, grandson of Sir John the Chamberlain, was appointed Governor in his stead.† Sir John, however, along with his chief, Sir David, and Sir Alexander, Sir David's brother,‡ all three knights bannerets,§ was captured at Haliden

* He includes their chief also:—"David Lindsay à Glencok, cum octoginta generis sui præstantibus nobilitate viris," are his words,—possibly adapted from the exaggerated narrative of some ancient ballad. *Hist.*, p. 313.—Buchanan, in repeating the story, names their chief Alexander. *Hist.*, lib. ix., cap. 7.—On the death of these Lindsays and their chief, Johnston has the following epigram in his 'Heroes Scoti:'—

"Vellem alium cecinisse tibi quàm in morte triumphum,
O nec morte nequam aut Marte tacendè tua!
At potior pulchrâ cadit tibi morte triumphus,
Luceque tibi cæsa lampas vera redit.
Parque duci et sodis virtus; par exitus; idem
Ardor agens animos; omnia pene pares.
Decidimus his unum,—cum mors æmula æquabus instet,
Qui prior, anne prior debeat ille mori."

† Bellenden's *Boece*, tom. ii. p. 417,—where however the epithet "fortissimus vir," applied in the original to Sir John, (*Hist.* p. 303,) is overlooked.

‡ Sir Alexander was Lord of Ormiston, in Eastlothian, and had an only child, Jonota, who carried that barony in marriage to the ancient family of Cockburn. See charters concerning the marriage, 39 Dav. II., in Robertson's *Index*, pp. 85, 86.*—The Cockburns quarter the Lindsay fesse-chequée in remembrance of it. Failing the heirs of this marriage, Ormiston was to go to William de Lindsay, Lord of the Byres, youngest son of Sir David of Crawford, and consequently Sir Alexander's youngest nephew.

§ The minimum of income prerequisite to entitle a knight to the rank of banneret was £268 *per annum*, equivalent to above £6000 in modern money. James' *Life of Edward the Black Prince*, 8vo. ii. p. 5.—Lord Chandos did not consider himself powerful enough to claim to be one till the battle of Najarra. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

* An index, drawn up about the year 1629, of many records of charters granted by the sovereigns of Scotland between 1309 and 1413, most of which are now lost, and edited by William Robertson, Esq., 4to. 1798,—an invaluable help.

Hill in the ensuing year, 1333.* And finally John Lindsay, Bishop of Glasgow,† a descendant of the House of Lamberton, and uncle, I believe, of Christiana, Dame de Couey,‡ returning from France to Scotland with two ships, conveying the instruments of a treaty between France and Scotland, thirty thousand pounds in money, together with warlike stores, contributed by the King of France, and with many noble ladies of Scotland, who had taken refuge in Flanders during the troubles, and on the first appearance of tranquillity had besought his escort on their return, was intercepted by the English Admiral, John de Ross, and captured after a gallant resistance,—the men-at-arms being all slain or drowned, and the Bishop mortally wounded in the head, of which he died before reaching the land; while several of those noble ladies refused, it is said, to eat or drink, for very grief and sorrow at their misadventure, and died on board, and were buried together with the Bishop, after reaching land, at Wytsande, on the coast of England. This sad event took place in August, 1337.§

Baliol meanwhile had been compelled to quit Scotland long before the war of which he had been the original pretext was composed. He fled to England, and received hospitality for awhile at Morholm, the residence of his cousin-german Christiana de Lindsay, then a widow and in old age. "She entertained him," says the Chronicle of Lanercost, "with divers solaces and festivities, and he promised her, if he should chance to prosper in his enterprize, great lands and revenues in Scotland which

* Knyghton, *Chron.*, col. 2564; and see a Chronicle quoted by Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, tom. ii. p. 454.

† He appears to have been elected in 1321,—see Mr. Innes' Preface to the *Registrum Episc. Glasguensis*, p. xxxvi.—Spotswood says he was "given much to the adorning of his church." *Hist. Church of Scotland*, p. 114.—The Mr. John de Lindsay, who witnesses deeds in the *Paisley Chartulary*, pp. 195, 197, about 1275, was probably the Bishop.

‡ A document is preserved in the Register of the Bishopric of Glasgow, describing his seal, which he had lost. On one side was the shield of William de Couey, on the other his own proper coat of arms,—the latter, as proved by impressions of the seal still extant, was an orle, with a bend dexter, which connects him with the Baliols, with Walter de Lindsay, probably his grandfather, (*vide supra*, p. 39, note,) with Sir Gilbert Lindsay, hereafter to be mentioned, &c. *Reg. E. Glasg.*, tom. i. p. 231.—The Bishop adhered at first to the party of his kinsman, Edward Baliol, in 1333. *Preface*, p. xxxviii.

§ *Hemingford*, tom. ii. p. 289; *Walsingham*, p. 118; Lord Hailes' *Annals*, tom. i. p. 197; *Reg. Episc. Glasg.*, Preface, p. xxxvi.

belonged to her hereditarily from ancient times."* But she died two years afterwards, in 1335,† and though Edward III. granted Lamberton and other estates in the South of Scotland, originally belonging to Christiana, and forming the "Baronia de Lyndeseye," to her son Sir William, Sire de Coucy, that same year,‡ it is needless to add that the grant was merely nominal, and that they were never restored to the line of their original proprietors.

The star, in fact, of the House of Crawford was now in the ascendant. The barony of Crawford, with its dependencies, had been bestowed, as I have already mentioned, on Sir Alexander, on the forfeiture of the Pinkeneys,—many fair estates, and an hereditary annual rent of one hundred marks, then a very large sum, from the great customs of Dundee, were among the tokens of favour bestowed upon Sir David by Robert Bruce;§ and by his marriage with Mary, coheiress of the Abernethies, in 1325,‖ he acquired a great accession of territory in the shires of Roxburgh, Fife, and Angus. He was entrusted too at one time with

* *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 271.—Christiana had a charter of free warren in Morholm and Winandermere in 1331. *Cal. Rot. Chart.*, p. 163.—Morholm had been a park since the time of Walter de Lindsay, her grandfather, as appears by his charter to Warton, already cited. Every trace of the manor of Morholm is now lost. Baines' *Hist. Lancashire*, tom. iv. p. 573.

† *Inquis. post Mortem*, tom. ii. p. 92.

‡ By a charter of Confirmation, 5 June, 1335, in which are enumerated "tota baronia de Lyndeseye infra villam Berewici super Twedam;" the manerium, or manor, of Lamberton, in Berwickshire; the manor of Caverton, and half the barony of Wester-Ker, in Roxburghshire; the manor of Scravelyn, in Peeblesshire,—that of Dariideer, in Dumfriesshire, and the "libera hospitia" of Haldenambehouse, Selkirk, and Traquair,—the manor of Parva Fenton, &c., in the county of Edinburgh, with all the knights' fees, patronage of churches, &c., belonging to William within the said counties. *Rot. Scot.*, tom. i. p. 352.—The five counties in which these estates lay had been made over to Edward III. in the preceding year, 1334, by Edward Baliol, to be annexed to England for ever. Hence this Confirmation, and hence no notice is taken in it of the Lindsay estates in those counties not included in Baliol's concession.

§ *Reg. M. Sig.*—The annual rent was confirmed by David II. to Sir David's grandson, Sir James Lindsay. Robertson's *Index*, p. 86.—And see the *Chamberlain Rolls*, tom. ii. p. 212, anno 1434.

‖ The dispensation, bearing that date, was discovered by Andrew Stuart in the Vatican,—see his *History of the Stuarts*, p. 446.—"The family of Abernethy was one of the oldest in Scotland, and, along with the old Earls of Fife and the 'Black Priest of Wedale,' shared in the transcendant privilege of a sanctuary." Riddell's *Remarks on Peerage Law*, p. 153.

the custody of Berwick Castle,* and at another with that of Edinburgh, which is especially mentioned by Wyntown, in praise of his orderly and prudent conduct while in that office :—

"Lastil hit time with the countrie
Na rise, na na strife made he."†

Nor was he ungrateful for these honours and distinctions, as witnessed by his donations to God and the Church. He confirmed the grants of his predecessors, and more particularly of Sir Gerard de Lindsay, to Newbattle,—granting to the monks, for himself and his heirs, a charter of free barony over all the lands thus bestowed upon them, with all its privileges, and without any "retinementum," or claim in requital, save the suffrages of their prayers.‡ And, in addition to this, by a distinct charter, he bestowed upon them another extensive district within the same domain of Crawford, on the tenure of their perpetually serving the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, adjoining the Castle of Crawford, and that of St. Lawrence of the Byres, and keeping them in repair,—assigning moreover, for the support of the priest at the former chapel, an ancient house, denominated "the Lady's manor-place" as a residence, and land for making himself a garden, and pasture for a horse and for five cows and five calves, and two acres of meadow-land, together with fuel, and the right of fishing in the Clyde,—and a similar provision, though on a smaller scale, for the priest at the Byres; pledging himself at the same time by a subsidiary charter to make up the loss to the monks by land elsewhere, should they be deprived of the territory in question through any law-plea or otherwise.§ And finally, several years afterwards, towards the close of his career, I find

* Payment, in 1329, "Johanni de Lessiduwyn pro feodo suo, de tempore quo David de Lyndes' fuit custos ville Berewyci," &c. *Chamberlain Rolls*, tom. i. p. 90.

† *Cronykil*, &c., tom. ii. p. 266.

‡ The charter is dated "in capella Beati Thome Martiris juxta Castrum de Crawford." *Chart. Newbattle*, MS.

§ *Chart. Newbattle*, MS.—I have printed this charter in the Appendix, No. IV. —"The existence of the chapel of the Castle of Crawford is carried back to the years 1175-1178 by charters in the Register of Holyrood, *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, pp. 42, 55." *Information from Joseph Robertson, Esq.*, who adds, after enumerating the chapels at Lamberton and Thurston, "I have not observed any other instance in Scotland of the presence of a chapel in each of so many manors of the same family."

him mortifying, as it was then called, two marks annually, out of the lands of Pitfour, near Cairnie, for the maintenance of a wax-light, to be kept burning through all future time at the tomb where the Lady Mary, his late wife, lay buried, and where he hoped to be laid beside her—in the choir of the Abbey-church of Lindores—for the benefit of both their souls. This latter charter is dated at the monastery, on the 19th of November, 1355,*—he had probably retired thither to die, as his name nowhere occurs subsequently to that period.

Sir David left three surviving sons, whose alliances and possessions I must here briefly enumerate, as it will render my narrative more distinct and clear hereafter. They had had an elder brother, David, a very gallant youth, who had been killed several years before his father, unmarried, and aged only twenty-one, at the disastrous battle of Neville's Cross, or Durham, where David II. was taken prisoner. He fought under the King's banner, and fell with the flower of the chivalry of Scotland, in a vain struggle for his preservation.† The eldest surviving brother, Sir James, married that same year his cousin Egidia Stuart, sister of Robert II., and daughter of the High Steward by the Princess Marjory, daughter of King Robert Bruce,—a marriage for which, on account of their near relationship, a dispensation was obtained from Rome at the request of King Philip of France.‡ She bore him an only son, Sir James Lindsay, afterwards Lord of Crawford, and a daughter, Isabelle, wife of Sir John Maxwell

* *Chart. Lindores*, p. 45,—where the Confirmation by David II., in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, is also printed. Cairnie had been granted to William de Lindsay, Rector of Ayr, and his heirs, in 1319.

† *Scotichronicon*, tom. ii. p. 343.

‡ Stuart's *Hist. of the Stuarts*, p. 446.—The dispensation is dated at Avignon, 11 April, 1346. They were within the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity, the one being second-cousin, the other second-cousin once removed, to the other. Egidia afterwards married Sir Hugh Eglinton, who is mentioned together with "Egidia de Lyndesay," his wife, (ladies who married a second husband usually in those days retaining the surname of the first,) in the *Chamberlain Rolls*, under the year 1365, tom. i. p. 439,—and who obtained from Robert II., in the second year of his reign, a charter to himself, "et Egidie de Lyndesay, sponse sue," of the lands of Bonington, and others. *Robertson's Index*, p. 97.—A Confirmation by Robert II. of Egidia's terce or provision out of the estates of Crawford, Evandale, Kirkmichael, Maryton, Dunlop, and Cairnie, and from the exchequer of Dundee, dated 21 Nov. 1383, is in the Muniment-room at Haigh Hall.

of Pollock.* The third of Sir David's sons, Sir Alexander, married Catherine, daughter of Sir John de Striviling, or Stirling, and heiress of Glenesk and Edzell, in Angus, and of other lands in Invernesshire,† by whom he had issue Sir David of Glenesk, the first Earl of Crawford, and Sir Alexander,—he married, secondly, Marjory Stuart, niece of Robert II.,‡ who bore him two sons, Sir William of Rossie,§ ancestor of the Lindsays of Dowhill, still numerous in Scotland, and Sir Walter,‖ besides a daughter,

* They were married, apparently, either in 1372 or 1373, judging from charters in Robertson's *Index*, pp. 114, 115.—Isabelle had a rich dower of unentailed lands in Galloway, (*Ibid*, p. 119,) and became the ancestrix of the two knightly families of Pollock and Calderwood. Four isolated shields, of the fourteenth century, taken from the ancient castle, now in ruins, have been inserted by Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, the present representative of Isabelle, in the walls of the stables at Pollock; the first represents the arms of Maxwell, the second the fesse-chequée of Lindsay, the third the lion of Abernethy, and the fourth the garbs of Comyn, the feudal arms of Buchan—probably added here, as having been assumed by Isabelle's brother, Sir James of Crawford and Buchan. In those days families exhibited the arms of their different alliances in separate shields, instead of quartering them.—Isabelle afterwards married Sir Henry Preston, as proved by a charter of Sir James, the second, of Crawford, to his "dilecte sorori, Domine Elisabethe," (a name often used interchangeably with Isabelle in the fourteenth century,) and her husband Sir Henry, of lands in Fermartyne, 1390-1397. *Aberdeenshire Collections, Spalding Club*, p. 500.

† Original settlement, 1365, by Catherine Stirling of her estates, on Sir Alexander, *Haigh Muniment-room*; and royal charter, Robertson's *Index*, p. 61.—The cognisance of the Stirlings of Glenesk being three stars, in common with the House of De Moravia and other Northern families, (the Stirlings being even sometimes designed, territorially, De Moravia,) Sir Alexander differenced his paternal coat by placing a star in the dexter chief point, or upper corner, of the shield. His son Earl David dropped it on becoming chief of the family,—but the star was readopted by the Lindsays of Edzell, and *seems* on the bordure borne by those of Balcarres.

‡ She was daughter of Sir John Stuart of Rahten, brother of Robert II. Wyntown says of her son, Sir Walter Lindsay,

> "Intill the third and the thrid gre
> Of kin was James our King and he."

—Book ix., cap. 28.

§ Robert Stuart, Earl of Fife and Menteith, son of Robert II., granted a charter to Sir Alexander Lindsay of Glenesk, on his resignation, of the two Rossies, in *Fife*, entailing them on Sir Alexander and the heirs-male of his marriage with Dame Marjory Stuart, his cousin. *Attested enrolment of this charter*, by desire of Walter Lindsay of Rossie, 5 Aug. 1445.

‖ He visited England in 1407, to tilt with the Lord of Beaumont, (*Wyntown*, lib. ix. cap. 28,)—was Sheriff of Aberdeenshire in 1417, (*Reg. M. Sig.*; *Aberdeenshire Collections*, p. 343,)—was styled of Kinneff in 1422, by disposition, probably, of his nephew, Alexander Earl of Crawford,—had a charter of Morphie-Fraser, at which time he had a daughter and heiress, Elizabeth Lindsay, (*Haigh Muniment-room*,)—and witnesses a charter of Alexander Earl of Crawford in 1438.

Euphemia. And lastly, Sir David's youngest son, Sir William, whose appanage was the Byres in Haddingtonshire, acquired the barony of Abercorn and other extensive estates with his wife Christiana, daughter of Sir William Mure of Abercorn,* and inherited moreover by disposition from his elder brother, Sir Alexander, the offices of hereditary bailie and seneschal of the regality of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews,† offices retained for many centuries by his posterity, even subsequently to the Reformation, down in fact to the middle of the last century, and which gave them great power in Fifeshire and wherever the Archbishops possessed property and influence. The Earls of Lennox held the like office under the Archbishops of Glasgow. Sir William was the father of another Sir William,‡ who obtained, by his marriage with Christiana, daughter of Sir William Keith, the hereditary Marischal of Scotland, the barony of Dunotter, with its impregnable castle§ on the dreary coast of Kincardine,—which he afterwards, however, exchanged with his father-in-law for the lordship and castle of Struthers in the more pleasant vales of Fife,§ which became the chief residence of his posterity,—under the service, however, on the part of the Keiths, that in time of war the infant heir of the Lindsays of the Byres should reside with his attendants in Dunotter.‖ This second Sir William¶ was the father of Sir John, the first Lord Lindsay of the

* See Appendix, No. I., Head V., VII., 4, and ancient charters, *Regist. Mag. Sig.*; Reb. *Index*, p. 117.—In memory of this marriage Sir William's descendants adopted three stars, in chief, on their shield, three stars being the arms of the Mures of Abercorn.

† Granted to Sir Alexander by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, 9 April, 1378. *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, tom. i. p. 378.

‡ See the Appendix, No. I., Head V., VIII.

§ Charters in the Byres charter-chest at Crawford Priory, Fifeshire; and see Appendix No. I., Head V., VIII., 2.—Charter by Robert III. to William Keith of the barony and castle of Denotter, by resignation of William Lindsay. Robertson's *Index*, p. 143.

‖ Gordon of Straloch's *Description of Scotland*, in Blaeu's *Theatrum Orbis*, p. 108 of the volume devoted to Scotland and Ireland.

¶ Sir William of the Byres founded, in 1413, a chapel to the Holy Trinity in the Cathedral of St. Andrews, to be supported by eight pounds yearly, out of the barony of Aldie in Strathearn. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*—Long afterwards, in 1612, after Byres and its dependencies had been sold to Sir Thomas Hamilton, ancestor of the Haddington family, a parliamentary ratification to him includes "the patronage of the chaplainry called the Ladie Chapell of Dreni, foundit of auld be William Lord Lindsay, and thereafter annexit to the chaplainry and alterage foundit

Byres; his descendants acted a distinguished part in Scottish history, and eventually succeeded, in prejudice of the heirs-male, to the honours of the elder branch, or House of Crawford.

Each of these three surviving brothers—the sons of Sir David, Lord of Crawford—took, as we shall see, an active part in the affairs of their time. The two elder, Sir James and Sir Alexander, were especially active during the period immediately subsequent to 1350,—Sir James, after his father's death, in negotiating his sovereign's release,* and Sir Alexander in seeking honour in the foreign wars; he obtained a safe-conduct to pass through England to the continent in 1368, with a train of sixty horse and foot,† probably to take part in the struggle between France and England for Aquitaine, and for some years we lose sight of him. He reappears shortly before the death of King David, and his seal, with that of his nephew Sir James, the son of his elder brother long before deceased, is still attached to the famous instrument or declaration of the magnates of Scotland, immediately after the coronation of King Robert II., in 1371, by which they bound themselves to recognise his eldest son, the Earl of Carrick, as King of Scotland after his death,‡—a recognition by which the succession to the throne was virtually secured for ever to the House of Stuart. Sir William, the youngest of the three sons, was also distinguished both in policy and war,—we shall hear more of him hereafter. Sir David left a daughter also, the wife of the chief of the House of Dalhousie, and mother of Sir Alexander Ramsay, a most distinguished warrior.§ And I ought to have mentioned previously, that he had had a sister, Beatrice de Lindsay, wife of Sir Archibald Douglas, brother of the "Good Lord James," and mother of William, the first Earl

within the paroche kirk of St. Andrews at the altar called the Trinity altar, situat within that part of the said paroche kirk callit the Lord Lindsay's Yle, &c." *Acts Parl.*, tom. iv. p. 484.

* *Extali Scotiæ, passim;* and Rob. *Index*, p. 108.—An allusion occurs in the Chamberlain Rolls, under 1358, to "tempore capcionis Comitis Marchiæ per Dominum Jacobum de Lindsay," described also as "quondam Dominum Jacobum," &c. —Tom. i. p. 306.—I do not know the period or the event thus alluded to.

† *Rot. Scot.*, tom i. p. 830.

‡ *Acts Parl.*, tom. i. p. 182.—The seals are engraved in the plate of seals prefixed to this chapter.

§ Sir William of the Byres was uncle of Sir Alexander Ramsay, according to Froissart,—it could only have been maternally, through a sister of the former.

of Douglas,—an alliance which became the ground, I presume, of the close fraternity that long existed between the Houses of Crawford and Douglas. Beatrice afterwards married Sir Robert Erskine of that Ilk, and was ancestress of the Earls of Marr.*

Before closing this section, I must add a few words on the armorial bearings of the family, a subject of vital interest during the ages of which I am speaking. They underwent an important change towards the close of the thirteenth century,—Sir Alex-

* According to Wyntown, Sir David Lindsay of Crawford was "eme," or uncle, to William first Earl of Douglas, *Cronykyl*, lib. viii. cap. 41.—This must have been through a sister, the wife of Sir Archibald Douglas, and Earl William's mother. That mother is legally proved to have borne the name of "Beatrix de Douglas" subsequently to her marriage, the surname being doubtless assumed from her husband, exactly as Egidia, sister of Robert II., assumed the surname of her husband Sir James Lindsay. Beatrice de Lindsay must therefore have been the original or maiden name of the lady in question. Beatrice's husband, Sir Archibald, died in 1342,—her son, Earl William, in 1384,—her grandson, the gallant Earl James, four years afterwards, at Otterburn, childless. He was succeeded by Archibald of Galloway, illegitimate son of the "Good Lord James," as third Earl; but the heirship of line and representation of the original Douglasses descended through Aleonora, daughter of Sir Archibald Douglas and Beatrice de Lindsay, sister of William first Earl of Douglas, and wife of Sir James Sandilands of Calder, to the present Lord Torphichen,—to whose courtesy in affording us the use of valuable papers the Balcarres family have been greatly beholden in the recent Crawford peerage claim. See Mr. Riddell's *Remarks upon Scottish Peerage Law*, pp. 140 sqq.

The establishment of the true maternity of William first Earl of Douglas is interesting historically, as disproving the fiction by which the Douglasses were represented as having a claim to the Crown preferable to that of the Stuarts, through descent from Dornagilla Comyn, daughter of John Comyn of Badenoch by Marjory sister of King John Baliol, the alleged wife of Sir Archibald Douglas, and mother of the first Earl of that name; the said Dornagilla being thus unduly substituted for Sir Archibald's only and lawful wife, Beatrice de Lindsay,—while, even supposing Dornagilla had been Earl William's mother, the descendants of Christiana de Lindsay, as already mentioned, had the prior claim. For this observation I am indebted to Mr. Riddell, as also for proof of the identity of Beatrice de Lindsay, or Douglas, with Beatrice, the Erskine ancestress. He discovered many years ago, in the Marr charter-chest, a grant by David II., in 1329-4, to Archibald Douglas, of the lands of Retreif, and others, to him and his heirs. These lands must have been the terce or jointure of Beatrice de Lindsay, or Douglas, enjoyed by Sir Robert Erskine, her second husband, "jure mariti." The lands reverted to the Douglasses after her death, and it is impossible on any other ground to account for the fact of the deed in question being in the Marr repositories.—Beatrice, it should be added, is always called Beatrice Lindsay in the old Erskine pedigrees.—She was dead in 1358-7, as appears by a charter by David II., in the Torphichen charter-chest, confirming a charter to "quondam Domine Beatrici de Lindsay" by Duncan Earl of Fife, &c.

ander Lindsay abandoned the eagle of Limesay, and adopted the fesse-chequée argent and azure,* probably in consequence of his close alliance by kindred and interest with the High Steward,—retaining however the original gules, or red ground of the shield; while his son, Sir David, employed the eagle as *tenant*, or supporter, of the escutcheon, thus inscribed with the fesse-chequée,—the insignia thus exhibiting, in the symbolism of ancient heraldry, the purity and truth of knightly love, elevated and borne up by the Holy Spirit. These insignia are enshrined within a star and a circle, emblematical of heaven and eternity, on Sir David's seal, still attached to an ancient charter granted shortly before his death.† The ideas thus enunciated received more varied and fuller expression from his descendants. They abandoned the eagle, and adopted two lions, gules, as their supporters, figurative of the strength of love—as exhibited on the seal of Sir James, above alluded to, in 1371—with the head of an ostrich as their crest, and the mysterious and almost awful motto, or "posie," as it was then termed, "Endure!"—the oldest (as yet ascertained) of the Scottish mottoes.‡ Sir David, the first Earl of Crawford, on being elevated to that dignity,§ quartered the arms of Abernethy with his own;‖ and the House of Balcarres, in later times, encircled the Crawford shield with a bordure azure, *semée* of stars, or, substituting moreover, as their crest, a pavilion, or tent, azure, similarly *semée* of stars, or—to signify heaven, as the goal of Christian pilgrimage, and ensigned by a banner, gules, in allusion to

* As seen on his seal, appended to the instrument by which Sir Alexander becomes *mala-persus*, or surety, for Robert Bruce, 9 July, 1297, cited *supra*, p. 39.—It is engraved in the plate of seals preliminary to this chapter.

† Alluded to previously, p. 4, as in the charter-chest of Sir George Warrender, Bart.—See also the plate just referred to.

‡ Sometimes it is written "Endure Fort!" corrupted in later years into "Forth." The family herald bore it as his name previously to 1464. *Exchequer Rolls.*

§ During his predecessor Sir James's life he bore the same arms and supporters as his father. See the *Chart. Inchaffray*, App. p. xlix.

‖ As seen upon his seal attached to ancient charters, and given in the plate above referred to. It is a beautiful specimen of the art of seal-engraving at the close of the fourteenth century. It gradually declined in Scotland till the middle of the seventeenth century.—Earl David was among the earliest Scottish peers who used quartered arms. *Nisbet's Ancient and Modern Use of Armories*, 1718, p. 89.—This was a corruption of the pure essence of heraldry. The Crawford family ought to have borne the simple coat of Lindsay, which is indeed occasionally attributed to them, as e.g. in the *Harl. MSS.* No. 4030.

the expression in Solomon's Song, "His banner over me was love,"—bridling the lions with a starred collar, azure, and taking as their motto the words, "Astra, Castra, Numen, Lumen, Minimen,"—

"The Stars my Camp, and God my Light and Strength."

—While the Lindsays of the Byres, neglecting the Abernethy quarterings, assumed three stars in the chief of their shield, in token of their descent from the House of Abercorn, and two griffins, figurative of Our Saviour in his mingled divine and human nature, as supporters, and a swan, displayed, as their crest, with the motto "Je ayme!"—sometimes exchanged for a Scottish one, "Love but dreid," Anglicè, "without dread."* The junior branches of the Lindsays varied these principal bearings *ad infinitum*, answering each other and their chief, in their mottoes especially, with a constant play of reference to the leading injunction, "Endure!"—as for example, "Sis fortis!" borne by the house of Cavill, "Firmiter maneo," by that of Dowhill, and "Patientia vincit," by the Lindsays of Wormestone. And Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who delighted in these plays of ingenuity, adding to the Byres coat a man's heart in base, argent, took for his crest a heart in flames, gules, transfixed with an arrow, and surmounted by a scroll, "Caritas, Caritas, Caritas!"

* These arms, with the exception of the motto, were borne by John first Lord Lindsay of the Byres, as witnessed by his seals still extant. They are given, with the motto "Je ape," in a MS. of blazonings, of the reign of Queen Mary, *Adv. Library*,—and with the motto "Love but dreid," in the dedication to John Earl of Lindsay of the map of Fife in Blaeu's 'Theatrum Orbis,' 1645. And see the plate of seals at the commencement of this chapter,—"This coat," says Crawford, "was still carried by the Lord Lindsay of the Byres and all the numerous branches and descendants of this noble family till the 1644, that the Earl of Lindsay was obliged by the entail of the Earl of Crawford to carry the armorial bearings of the House of Crawford, and this was thought peculiar only to the Earl of Crawford himself, and was not communicable to the younger branches of the family,—they kept still (to) the ensigns armorial of the House of Byres; for Master Patrick Lindsay, the second son of this very Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, did not wear the coat of his father as Earl of Crawford, but, as his second son as Earl of Lindsay and Lord Lindsay of the Byres, the fesse-chequée with the three mullets or stars in chief, with a crescent as his brotherly difference." *Memoirs Hist. and Genealogical of the Lindsays*, MS. by George Crawford, historiographer of Scotland, now in the possession of Alex. MacDonald, Esq., of the Register House, to whose kindness I am indebted for its perusal.—John 20th Earl of Crawford quartered the arms of Crawford and Lindsay of the Byres on his seal, as may be seen in the plate above referred to.

with "Fides" and "Spes," Faith and Hope, as two maidens proper, for supporters,* thus carrying the original idea so far out as to lose its honest flesh and blood substantiality in pure abstraction. Heraldry, I need not say, had a most living and eloquent speech in the early days of chivalry, and many a deep moral lesson was thus bequeathed to posterity.

I have but one remaining observation to offer here. It might seem as if I had attributed more importance than their due to what appear to be but a succession of simple knights,—but the fact is, that I might have styled them Lords Crawford, Luffness, Lamberton, &c. with as much propriety as the early Percies, Nevilles, Mowbrays, and others, are styled Lords Percy, Neville, Mowbray, &c. by the English genealogists,—their tenure, status, and rank being precisely the same.† The Lindsays are occasionally indeed styled so by the chroniclers,‡ but it is not usual, and

* See his arms, as blazoned by himself, in his collection of Scottish blazonings, as printed at Edinburgh, folio, 1822.

† This is proved, independently of other evidence, by their figuring as witnesses in the royal charters from David I. downwards, an honour to which (as already mentioned) none but tenants in *capite*, or feudal barons, were admitted. There might have been differences in wealth and power, but all the magnates (strictly speaking) were peers. Neither the Bruces till the marriage of the elder Bruce with the Countess of Carrick,—nor the Baliols till their elevation to the throne—nor the High Stewards till after the middle of the fourteenth century, possessed any title higher than that of simple "Sire," or "Seigneur"—like the De Coucys of France.[a] In England the barons ceased to be peers, unless specially so created, during the thirteenth century, but in Scotland the old system continued till 1587, long after the creation of the Earldom of Crawford.—The Lindsays of Crawford, while barons by tenure in England in the thirteenth century, are in fact correctly inserted as such by Sir Harris Nicolas in his *English Peerage*, tom. i. p. 377.

‡ E. g. Sir James Lindsay of Crawford is styled the "Sire de Lindsay" by

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[a] "There is great reason to believe that to every considerable tract of land granted by the Conqueror, to be held in capite of the Crown, a dignity was annexed, with a jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, in conformity to the usages then established in Normandy. Thus Selden says: *Tenere de rege in capite, habere possessionem sicut baronium.* And to be a baron, with a right to sit with the rest of the barons in councils or courts of judgment, according to the laws of that time, were synonymous. In course of time, the estate in which the dignity of a baron was annexed, was called a baronia, &c." Crabe on *Dignities*, p. 22.

[b] "Lord Hale has observed that the title of *dominus* in the writs to the lords was in ancient times very rare; but they were directed to 'Willelmo de Grey, *chivaler*;' and so in the other writs at common law. And the reason, as given by the old books, was, because the King writes to none of his subjects by the name of Lord. But in the time of Henry VI. this was altered in many cases; for divers of the nobility are summoned by the names *dominus de Say, dominus de Ferrars*, &c." Crabe on *Dignities*, p. 71.

I have preferred the simple style of chivalry, as current in both countries during these early centuries—subjoining merely the above general protest in vindication of what might otherwise be disregarded. Their rank and position may be stated more briefly thus—that the Lindsays having been tenants *in capite*, and great barons or Magnates Scotiæ, in uninterrupted succession, from their arrival in Scotland, till the creation of the Earldom of Crawford, their peerage properly dates from the beginning of the twelfth century—while their territorial and foreign surname proves them to have been noble, in the proper and continental sense of the term, prior to the migration.

SECTION VI.

I pause here for a moment, ere closing this chapter, to mention certain junior branches and two or three individual Lindsays, hitherto left unnoticed as younger brothers or collaterals, but whose memory we would not willingly let die. One of the most interesting of the latter class is Robert de Lindsay, Abbot of Peterborough under King John in England, a dignitary whose wisdom, providence, energy, honesty, piety, and beneficence are affectionately recorded by all the early chroniclers of that great monastery. I must refer you to them, and to the more modern historians Gunton and Patrick, for an account of his many merits,—his decoration of the convent and the church, in the former of

Froissart, and "Jacobum Dominum de Lyndsey" in his safe-conduct, 15 Dec. 1381. "David Sire de Lyndesey" is so designed in 1398. So Wyntown, in his account of the battle of Glenbrerith, in 1392,—

"The Schirrave of Angus in Kettynis lay,
And by him neir Schir Patrik Gray,
The Lord de Lyndysay at Dundee;"—

And in his account of the creation of the Earldom of Crawford, 1398:—

"The Lord Schir Dawy the Lyndysay
Was Erle maid that yere," &c.

—So too in the account of the meeting at Haldanestank,—

"Schir Davy, Lord than de Lyndesay,
Was at that tryste that like day," &c.

—See also Robertson's *Index*, p. 139. It would be superfluous to adduce instances of this from the 'Dignity of the Scots Peerage Vindicated,' Holt's 'Life of John Earl of Crawford,' and such-like works of the last century.

which he glazed fourteen, in the latter thirty windows, previously stuffed merely with reeds and straw to keep out the weather, besides covering the Abbot's hall with lead, building a lavatory for the monks, and a larder for the *cellerarius*,—his successful vindication of the existing privileges of the monastery, and extension of its immunities by purchasing rights of forestry from the King; and his augmentation of the number of monks from seventy-two to eighty, assigning his manor of Bellasyse for the maintenance of the additional eight,*—and pass to "W. de Lyndissay," Chancellor of Scotland in 1231,† already presumed

* Gunton's *Hist. of Peterborough, with additions by Bishop Patrick*, folio, 1686, pp. 24, 293 sqq.—Robert de Lindsay was elected in 1214, and died in 1222. I cannot suppress one amusing passage:—"Before his time, there had been great discord and murmuring, contention and envy, frequently happening among the brethren *propter minutiones*, about blood-letting (which was very necessary sometime to those sedentary people, who were subject to repletion); and no wonder, because nobody could *accipere minutionem*, be let blood without an order from the Prior; who let some have it oftener, others more rarely; some after five weeks, others after six, and others not till after eight, or ten, or fifteen, or perhaps half a year. To take away therefore all trouble out of their minds about this matter, this Abbot ordered that the convent should be divided into six parts, and upon the day of letting blood, he that was the senior of that part, whose turn it was to have the benefit of it, should ask *licentiam minuendi*, (and that under his hand,) for his brethren from the Prior."—See further extracts, curiously illustrative of monastic usages, and of Abbot Robert's energy and zeal, in the Appendix, No. V.

Other English Lindsays appear in the records,—e. g. Vitalis de Lindsay, as possessing land in *Newbyres*, co. Wilts, given him by King Henry II., who reigned 1154-1189,—Vitalis being still alive in 1221, *Lit. Cluss.*, p. 466,—Richard de Lindesie and Matilda his wife, as holding land in Magna and Parva Crawle, and in Duddeler, co. Bucks, 1196-1203, *Fines*, tom. i. pp. 165, 209, and *Testa de Nevill*, p. 248,—John de Lindsay, Prior of Menlham, co. Suffolk, before 1204, Dugd. *Monast.*, tom. v. p. 56,—Gilbert de Lindsay and Emma his wife, proprietors in Derbyshire in 1220, *Fines*, tom. ii. p. 19,—Thomas and Felicia de Lindsay, tenants in co. Huntingdon, temp. Henr. III. and Edw. I., and apparently scions of the House of Lamberton, *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 26, 251, 254,—William de Lindsay, who sued in 1285 for a moiety of the church of Kingsted, co. Norfolk, (a property which belonged subsequently, at least, to the Chamberleyns,)—William de Lindsay, who receives a pardon for adhesion to Thomas Earl of Lancaster, 1318, Palgrave's *Writs*, Part II. p. 130,—Richard de Lindsay, lord of the manors of La Lee and Old Courthall, co. Warwick, 1322, *Inquis. ad quod damnum*, p. 266,—Gilbert de Lyndseye, Prior of St. Nicholas, Exeter, 1339, then aged and infirm, Dugd. *Mon.*, tom. iii. p. 376,—Alice Lyndesey, Prioress of Dunatm, co. Kent, 1436, *ibid.* tom. iv. p. 288,—William de Lindsay, son and heir of Richard de Lindsay, both Lords of Derteford, co. Kent, 12 Edw. IV., *Inquis. post mortem*, tom. iv. p. 337,—and many others. The Lindsays cease in the summonses to the English parliament after the reign of Edward II.

† Witness, 30 June 1231, to a charter of Alexander II. to the Knights Templars, confirmed 19 Oct. 1488. *Reg. M. Sig.*

identical with Williams, younger brother of Sir David Lindsay of Crawford,—to William de Lindsay, Dean of Glasgow in 1246,*—and to Rodolphus de Lindsay, Preceptor of Torphichen, and Grand-master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem within Scotland at the time of the dissolution of the order in 1306.† Nor must I overlook Sir William de Lindsay, Lord of Symontoun in Ayrshire, younger son of Sir David, the first, of Luffness, and of his wife Lady Margaret, and thus younger brother of the Sir David who died in the crusade of St. Louis, and of Sir John, the High Chamberlain under Alexander III. He was a munificent benefactor to Newbattle—bestowing on the monks, and on other "pauperes Christi" through their intervention—for the benefit of his own soul, his wife Lady Alice's, and in especial his mother Lady Margaret's—an annuity of twenty pounds sterling, his directions for the distribution of which are minute and interesting,—one hundred and four shillings being assigned to the monks "ad pitancias," for buying two shillings' worth of food more delicious than usual, and "salsamenta," or sauces to accompany it, for their recreation, on every Sunday throughout the year; four pounds eighteen shillings and sevenpence, to the provision of twenty-four pair of "sotularia," or conventual shoes, "bonorum et largorum"—substantial and roomy—with two "pictacia, sive taconos"—parchment strings—to each pair—for distribution among them yearly at Haddington, on the feast of All Saints; thirty-two shillings and eight pence for the purchase of ninety-two ells of Totness cloth, to be distributed among thirteen of the most indigent poor the same day and place—four ells to each person; six pounds ten shillings, to be given in alms to thirteen hundred poor people, the same day, annually, so that each may have a penny;‡ five shillings to remunerate the distributors for their trouble; one mark to entertain the Franciscans

* "Magister Willelmus de Lyndesaya," Dean of Glasgow, figures from 1236 (*Chart. Melrose*, pp. 248, 262, 263, 667; *Chart. Scone*, p. 47) till 1246 (*Chart. Kelso*, p. 231).—See also *Chart. Kelso*, p. 331.—I do not know whether he is to be considered identical with "Magistro W., clerico nostro, filio Roberti de Lindesia," to whom Andreas de Moravia, Bishop of Moray, grants a prebendary's stall between 1224 and 1249. *Chart. Moray*, p. 66.

† Robertson's *Index*, p. 11.

‡ Six score pennies to the hundred was at that time the universal computation of the North.

of Haddington on the anniversary of Lady Margaret, the morrow of the feast of the Pope St. Gregory,* provided they celebrate mass to her memory within their church where she lies buried,—and half a mark the same day to the Carmelites of Luffness for similar commemoration; half a mark for lighting up the lamp of St. Mary in the church of St. Giles at Ormiston on the vigil of the Purification of the Virgin, and thirteen pence for lighting a lamp in the infirmary at Newbattle; the sums in question, if not distributed on the days ordained, to be divided between the Franciscans and the repair of the bridge of Haddington, unless some horrible tempest or war have prevented the distribution.† The value of the pound sterling, as may be supposed, was much greater then than now.‡ This charter was granted in 1293, immediately before Sir William's departure for Rome, apparently on a diplomatic mission to the Pope on behalf of his countrymen; Edward during his absence seized his property, and made provision out of it for his wife Lady Alice in 1296.§—Another William de Lindsay, well known to antiquarians as Rector of Ayr, Canon of Glasgow and Dunkeld, Lord of Kirkmichael, in Galloway, and of Cairnie,‖ and High Chamberlain of Scotland for many years under Robert Bruce,¶ was, I believe, a younger

* The 12th of August.

† *Chart. Newbattle*, MS.—I have printed in the Appendix, No. VI., the "Forma Distributionis XX. librarum," as given in the Chartulary, a very curious document.

‡ The yearly sum thus bequeathed by Sir William was equivalent to above £100 of our present money.

§ Mandate by Edward, 4 Sept. 1296, *Rot. Scot.*, tom. i. p. 28.—Lady Alice, as Lord Hailes observes, was probably an heiress. *Annals*, tom. i. p. 243.—I suspect she was of the family of Lockhart.

‖ He is described as "Sir William Lindsay, Canon of Glasgow and Dunkeld, and Rector of the church of Ayr, and Lord of Kirkmichael[a] in Nithsdale, and of Letany," in a charter, 7 May 1327, *Reg. Episc. Glasg.*, tom. i. p. 238.—William de Lindesay, Canon in Glasgow, has a charter from Robert Bruce "of the barony of Kirkmichael in valle de Nith, which Roger Mowbray tint by forfaiture." Robertson's *Index*, pp. 12, 120.—See also for other grants to him, *ibid.* pp. 2, 8, 14, 31, 36.—"If the vicars," observes Mr. Innes, "of the richly endowed regulars were only scantily and grudgingly maintained by their wealthy patrons, it is evident that from the earliest times the secular rectors were often men of wealth and family. Some of them were the younger sons of great families, and in more than one instance we find clergymen possessed of considerable landed property." *Preface, Chart. Melrose*, tom. i. p. xxviii.

¶ He was Chamberlain, 19 June 1313, when he witnesses an indenture between

[a] Printed "Kyrcmel," I presume by mistake.

brother of Sir Alexander of Crawford, and rivalled his cousin Sir William in munificence, as is evinced by his charters preserved in the Chartulary of Glasgow.* The landed property of both these Williams ultimately reverted to the House of Crawford.†

From yet another William, uncle of Sir William of Symontoun, and younger son of the first William of Luffness, descended the powerful House of Craigie and Thurston, of whom Sir Walter and Sir James, mentioned in a preceding page as partisans of Wallace and Bruce, were successively representatives. Sir James, the accomplice in the murder of the Red Cumyn in the church of the Minorites at Dumfries, was succeeded by another Sir James, his eldest son and heir, in whose person the sacrilege of the father was visited by a fearful retribution, as recorded by the ancient chroniclers. Sir James and Roger Kirkpatrick, as you may recollect, were partners in the deed. "The body of the slaughtered Cumyn was watched during the night by the Franciscans with the usual rites of the Church. But at midnight the whole assistants fell into a dead sleep, with the exception of one aged father, who heard with terror and surprise a voice like that of a wailing infant exclaim, 'How long, O Lord, shall vengeance be deferred?' It was answered in an awful tone, 'Endure with patience until the anniversary of this day shall

Sir Andrew Lesley and Sir William Lindsay, 25 Dec. 1316, *Chart. Melrose*, tom. i. p. 348,—4 Jan. 1317-1318, as a witness to a charter cited by Crawford, *Officers of State*, p. 268,—12 April 1319, *Chart. Inchaffray*, p. 80.

* By which, and relative documents, dated 1323 and 1327, he bestows ten pounds sterling annually (owing to him by Sir Simon Lockhart of the Lee) on the Dean and Chapter, part to be divided among the resident canons, and part to the support of a chaplain to celebrate divine offices for ever in the chapel of the Holy Trinity of Ayr, which Sir William had built,—Sir David Lindsay, Lord of Crawford, and Sir James Lindsay witnessing the original bond by Sir Simon, and the Confirmation by Robert Bruce. *Reg. Epise. Glasg.*, tom. i. pp. 235 sqq.—Nesices of Sir Williams Lindsay occur in the Chamberlain Rolls of 1329, tom. i. pp. 111, 139.

† Cairnle was subsequently possessed by Sir David, son of Sir Alexander of Crawford; and Sir James Lindsay, the second, had a charter from his uncle Robert II., in 1376, of the barony of Kirkmichael, which he held, as the King states, "hereditarie, ex infeodatione .. avi nostri .. Domini Roberti .. Regis,"—that is, Robert the Bruce. See the ante-penultimate note. The charter confirms to him the rights of regality which his predecessors had enjoyed—to hold as fully, freely, and honourably as any Earl or Baron in Scotland. *Reg. M. Sig.*, p. 133.—Sir James therefore held Kirkmichael as heir of William *de* Lindsay.—The same Sir James is styled "Dominus de Crawford et de Symontoun" in a charter confirming a grant by one of his vassals to Allan de Lauder, c. 1361.

return for the fifty-second time.'—In the year 1357," says Sir Walter Scott, "fifty-two years after Cumyn's death, James of Lindsay was hospitably feasted in the Castle of Caerlaverock in Dumfriesshire, belonging to Roger Kirkpatrick. They were the sons of the murderers of Cumyn. In the dead of the night, for some unknown cause, Lindsay arose, and poniarded in his bed his unsuspecting host. He then mounted his horse to fly, but guilt and fear had so bewildered his senses, that, after riding all night, he was taken at break of day not three miles from the castle, and was afterwards executed by order of King David II."* Sir James, thus untimely cut off, was succeeded by his son, Sir John Lindsay of Craigie and Thurston, whose daughter and heiress, Margaret, carried the property into the family of Ricardton, ever since designed "of Craigie," the representatives in the collateral male line of Sir William Wallace.† The male representation of the Lindsays of Craigie seems then to have devolved on the House of Dunrod, descended from John Lindsay, designed "Dominus de Dunrod" in 1360,‡ and who would

* *Scotichronicon*, tom. ii. p. 361; *Boeth.*, fol. 326 *verso*.—Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe has founded a beautiful ballad on this legend, the 'Murder of Caerlaverock.'

† The House of Craigie were chiefly attached to the High Stewards, of whom they held Thurston in Berwickshire. They are constant witnesses to their charters, as well as to those of the contemporary Kings of Scotland. For the name of their ancestor William, I have no proper evidence beyond the family genealogies. The wife of this ancestor, and her inheritance of Craigie, appear in a Confirmation, *circa* 1272, by which "Walterus de Lindsay, miles, filius et heres quondam Cristiane Hose, et Matildis soror ejusdem Cristiane, heredes quondam Domini Johannis Hose, militis," confirm the church of Cragyn, or Craigie, to the Abbey of Paisley. *Chart. de Passelet*, p. 233.—Respecting Sir James, Sir Walter's son, I need only add to what is said in a preceding note, *supra*, p. 40, that "Dominus Jacobus de Lindsay, miles," was living 21 Sept. 1323, when he witnesses, together with Sir David of Crawford, a charter in the *Regist. Episc. Glasguensis*, tom. i. p. 236.—This was probably the second Sir James, executed after the murder of Caerlaverock. That Sir James, the second, was eldest son and heir of Sir James, the first, is distinctly asserted in the Scotichronicon, *loc. cit.*—Sir John Lindsay of Craigie, his successor, figures from 1356-7 till the commencement of the reign of Robert II.; he was a powerful personage, Sheriff and Coroner of Ayrshire, and possessed property in Durisdeer, co. Dumfries, the lands of Murletyre, co. Forfar, and those of Baltray, in Buchan. Rob. *Index*, pp. 46, 53, 63, 97, 98, 131,—where there are notices proving the marriage of his daughter. Sir John had a paternal uncle, William Lindsay,—I do not know whether or not he left issue. There are still considerable remains of the Castle of Craigie, which has been a strong and stately pile. See an interesting account of it in the Appendix, No. VII. *

‡ In a charter dated 1360, in the Morton Charter-room. The seal appended to

appear to have been a younger brother of Sir James of Craigie, and younger son of the murderer of Cumyn.* The Lindsays of Dunrod, a wild and warlike race, flourished for centuries in power and affluence, and their history is a dark and stormy one, in perfect keeping with the legend attaching to the memory of their ancestor.

Two other lines of powerful barons, the Lords of Covington and Wauchopdale, descended from Sir John de Lindsay, Chamberlain of Scotland, and uncle and guardian, as above mentioned, of Sir Alexander of Crawford. By his wife, Dionysia, he had two sons, Sir Philip and Sir Simon de Lindsay, knights bannerets of Cumberland and Northumberland under Edward II.,† and the respective ancestors of those two families. Sir Philip obtained

it bears a fesse-chequé, with three stars in chief—the same difference as that afterwards adopted by the Lindsays of the Byres.

* I deduce this from the following considerations:—1. The Lindsays of Craigie were closely connected with the High Stewards, and held their barony of Thurston under them; the Lindsays of Dunrod, similarly, were established in Renfrewshire by the Stuart family,—this suggests a relationship between the two families.—2. Sir John Lindsay of Craigie grants to his son-in-law, John Wallace, an annual rent out of the lands of "Thorvyle," in the barony of Renfrew, temp. David II., Reb. *Infer*, p. 97. But these lands of "Thornele," afterwards called "Thorntle-Lindsay," subsequently belonged to the Lindsays of Dunrod,—in 1493, *Acta Dom. Concilii*, p. 253; in Oct. 9th, 1527, charter to Sir William Cunningham of Glencairn, *Reg. Mag. Sig.*—I conclude from this that they were part of the appanage assigned to the Dunrod ancestor by the House of Craigie.—3. Sir James, the second, of Craigie, is described as "primogenitus" of his father, the first Sir James, *Scotichronicon, loc. cit.* He had probably therefore a younger brother—with whom in the preceding considerations I identify John, the first Lord of Dunrod.—4. In corroboration of this argument, I may cite the tradition of the Dunrod family and of the West of Scotland, that the House of Dunrod were descendants and representatives of Sir James, the murderer of the Red Cumyn—who is elsewhere shewn to have been the Lord of Thurston and Craigie; while, if credit may be allowed to the tradition, thus supported, their ancestor John of Dunrod could not have been so descended except as younger brother of Sir James, the second, as above contended.

† Their arms are blazoned as follows in the Roll of Arms of the bannerets of England, between 1308 and 1314, cited *supra*, p. 47:—"Sire Felip de Lyndesheye—de or, a un egle de porpre."—"Sire Symon de Lyndesheye—meisme les armes, a un baston gobone de argent e de azure."—In proof of the filiation, I may cite a charter of Robert Bruce to Robert Lauder of the mill of Lethbert, co. Stirling, "quod fuit quondam Philippi de Lyndesey, militis, et quod molendinum Simon de Lyndesey, miles, frater ejusdem quondam Philippi, contra nostram dignitatem regiam forisfecit de guerrâ," *Reg. Mag. Sig.*—taken in connection with the extract from the Chronicle of Lanercost, cited below.—The precedency given to Sir Philip, and the difference in the arms of Sir Simon, as blazoned in the Roll above cited, prove the former to have been the elder brother.

the manors of Wykingby and Merston, in Lincolnshire, by his wife Beatrice le Chamberleyn,* Sir Simon the barony of Wauchopdale, whether by marriage or otherwise I do not know.† Both took part with Edward in the war of independence, their English proprietorship outweighing, it would seem, their Scottish patriotism.‡

* They were already married in 1281. *Plac. de quo Warranto*, p. 415; *Ingais. ad quod Damnum*, p. 253.—Sir Philip appears to have had an interest also in the manor of Blankam, co. Lincoln, in 1284, *Placit. Abbrev.*, p. 296.—He and his brother Sir Simon had property also in Stirling, *Reg. M. Sig.*, and Sir Philip had grants from Edward II. of the lands of Polmaise-Marischal, co. Stirling, in 1309, *Rot. Scot.*, tom. i. p. 80.—They had property in Northumberland and Cumberland, as appears from their being classed as baronets under those counties,—property probably inherited from their parents Sir John and Dionysia. It is probably in virtue of such Northumbrian possessions that the Chronicle of Lanercost relates a curious monkish legend, how on the death of that accomplished youth, John de Vesci, only son and heir of William, the competitor for the Scottish crown, "Dominus Philippus de Lyndesei," "Miles de Scotia," "Domini Johannis filius," his instructor in chivalry, "dicti pueri educator," fell ill of grief, and afterwards of a strange disease, under which he lay for eight days on his bed at Beverley, speechless, and apparently deprived of his outer senses, till St. Cuthbert, pitying his sufferings, appeared to him in a vision, and told him, that he had merited his illness for having abandoned to neglect and ruin the hermitage and chapel of Fulpayum, situated in his territory, and solemnly assigned to the Saint by his (Sir Philip's) ancestors—"now," added he, "a stable for cattle! Yet, in what thou hast sinned hitherto, be it forgiven thee; and do thou, receiving thy health, purge and repair my dishonoured sanctuary." Whereupon Sir Philip, suddenly recovering his speech, thanked the Saint, and besought his forgiveness. He often afterwards, adds the chronicler, attested this vision to his friends. This legend is inserted under the year 1295. *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 163.

† Family tradition has always represented this domain as the earliest property of the Lindsays in Scotland. "Wauchope Castle . . . is situated on a steep precipice, beautifully romantic, upon the river Wauchope, which, with its waters murmuring below among the pointed rocks and brushwood, renders the situation grand and picturesque. In those days it has been a place of great strength; the fosse and other outworks of this ancient castle are still clearly discernible." *Old Stat. Account*, tom. x. p. 598.—See the *Rot. Lit. Patent.*, tom. i. p. 211, for the account of proceedings, in 1306, against Sir Simon on the score of alleged oppression in cutting of wood on the lands of Traquair, sold by him to William the son of Robert, "in quâ solebat habere xvi bondos," or aboriginal slaves, &c.

‡ Simon de Lindsay was "Gardein des Forteleses de Lydel e del Eremitage"—the celebrated Castle of Hermitage—on behalf of Edward, 30 Oct. 1300, Palgrave's *Documents*, &c. p. 249.—Simon was one of the English prisoners released after the battle of Bannockburn, when his brother John, a priest, came to Scotland to negotiate his ransom. *Rot. Scot.*, tom. i. p. 132.—Philip was summoned from the county of Lincoln to perform military service against the Scots in 1300 and 1301, Palgrave's *Writs*, tom. i. pp. 334, 355,—and figures as "de la compagnie de Monsire Henr. de Percy" among the "Magnates qui fuerunt in guerrâ Scotie," serving under Edward at the siege of Stirling. *Documents*, &c., p. 269.—Philip was again summoned to serve against Scotland in June, 1315, *Rot. Scot.*, tom. i. p. 146.—

Sir Philip died in 1317,* leaving issue a son named John, who resigned the barony of Stahilgorton, which he held apparently in his own right, to the "good Sir James" of Douglas,† but afterwards obtained that of Covington, in Lanarkshire, in marriage with the daughter of Sir Robert Maitland of Thirlestane, and bequeathed it to his posterity.‡ Sir Simon also left a son, Sir John Lindsay, the Knight bannerett alluded to in a former page, and who repaid the generosity of Robert Bruce in restoring him his father's property§ by a loyal adherence to the fortunes of his son, King David, sealed by his death in his defence at Neville's-Cross in 1346.‖ The descendants of these cousins, in the

He seems, like many of the Limesays, to have been closely allied with Thomas Earl of Lancaster, having obtained a pardon, in 1315, for participation as his adherent in the death of Gaveston, Palgrave's *Writs*, tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 67.—William de Lindsay, whose exact position on the family tree I do not know, obtained a similar remission in 1318, *ibid.*, p. 130. And Sir Peter Limesay and John de Limesay of Warwickshire, and Richard de Limesay, all figure as adherents to the Earl in 1322, when he was executed in consequence of the detection of long and treasonable correspondence with Robert Bruce. *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 210, 214, &c.

* *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.*, p. 233.

† Robertson's *Index*, pp. 10, 21.—The district on either bank of the Esk below the limits of Wester Ker formed the old parish of Stahilgorton.

‡ A few words of explanation are necessary here. Three John Lindseys, powerful barons, flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century. One of them was a knight bannerett, the Lord of Wauchopedale,—his filiation is proved in the following note. The second, John of Dunrod, we have shewn by strong probability to have been a scion of the House of Craigie. The third was John Lindsay of Covington, a descendant unquestionably of the House of Crawford, bearing, as he does, the fesse-chequée, but who cannot be affiliated to the family tree unless we admit his identity with John of Stahilgorton, eldest son of Sir Philip Lindsay, and who disappears almost immediately after his father's death. The argument therefore stands thus. We have the line of Sir John the Chamberlain, through his eldest son, Sir Philip, downwards to a John Lindsay; we trace the House of Covington upwards to a John Lindsay,—and can get no further either way; both these Johns were men of rank, both contemporary; no father can be assigned to John of Covington, considered as distinct from John of Stahilgorton,—I conclude therefore that they were identical.

§ By a charter to John Lindsay, son of Simon Lindsay, "of the lands of Wachopdale, Laagriggs, in Annandale, with the 8 merk land of Scrauisburgh, quas idem Simon erga nos forisfecit, and many mae," cited in Robertson's *Index*, pp. 13, 15.—Sir John received at the same time a charter of lands in Rutherford and Maxton. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*

‖ Knyghton's *Chronicle*, ap. Twysden, Scriptores, col. 2564.—Edward Baliol had forfeited him previously. The following notice occurs in 1340:—"Rex (Edw. III.) confirmavit Johanni de Orreton in feodo omnia terras et tenementa infra Scotiam quæ fuerunt Johannis de Lyndesay de Walghopp, militis, ei (to Orton) concessa per Edwardum Regem Scotorum." *Cal. Rot. Patent.*, p. 140.

respective lines of Covington and Wauchopdale, were rich and powerful in their day, and flourished, surrounded by a numerous circle of junior branches, till the end of the seventeenth century.

Another very early branch of the Lindsays, and apparently, like the preceding, of Luffness or Crawford origin,* settled on the romantic banks of the Leven, near Lochlomond, Patrick, son of Sir Hugo de Lindsay, obtaining charters from his kinsman Malcolm Earl of Lennox, who flourished between 1292 and 1333, of the lands of Buchnull, now Bonhill, with the hereditary offices of *toshach-darroch*, or baillie, and forester of the Lennox.† The descendants of these woodland rangers flourished there for at least three hundred years.

Finally, I may notice Sir Gilbert de Lindsay, knight banneret,‡ Lord of Molesworth in Huntingdonshire, and donor of one hundred and sixty acres of land in that manor to the Priory of Chicksand,§ as a scion of the House of Lamberton, actively engaged on the side of Edward throughout the war of inde-

* They quartered, in 1490 and afterwards, the lion of Abernethy with the Lindsay fesse-chequée—not certainly as descended from the Abernethy heiress, but in conformity to a Scottish usage by which, in later ages at least, cadets occasionally took the full arms of existing chiefs, whatever they might be,—the earliest Douglas cadets, for example, the bloody heart, though sprung off before the time of the "good Sir James," &c.

† Charter by Earl Malcolm, *Chart. de Lennox*, pp. 49, 51.—"Toshach-darroch," "mareschodus," or "mair of fee," and "heritable baillie," are the terms by which the former office is described in ancient deeds, as held by the Lindsays. It was a distinct and separate office from the forestership. *Information from my friend James Denniston, Esq., of that Ilk.*

‡ He is enumerated as such among the bannerets of Huntingdonshire in the Roll of Arms, 1308-1314.

§ *Est. Hundred.*, tom. ii. pp. 618, 632,—where it is also mentioned that he held the town and manor of Molesworth under William de Lindsay, who held under William de Bruce, and he under Robert de Bruce. Other lands he must have held in *capite*, being a knight banneret. His possession of property in Stirling (Rob. *Index*, p. 27) would suggest a near kindred to the brothers Sir Simon and Sir Philip, had he not held under William de Lindsay, probably of Lamberton, and had not his arms been so different. They are nearly the same as those of Walter de Lindsay of Lamberton, who flourished in 1245, (*vide supra*, p. 30,) and John Lindsay, bishop of Glasgow under Robert Bruce,—and are blazoned as follows in the Roll of Bannerets,—"De goules, crusule de or, a un escuchon de veer percee," or, as given with some variation by Edmondson, "Gules, an escutcheon vairee, bordered argent, within an orle of eight cross crosslets, or." Sir Walter de Molesworth bears the same arms in the Roll of Arms above cited, and the present family of Molesworth nearly the same.

pendence,* and who died in 1319-1320,† but of whose succession I know nothing; and Sir Walter Lindsay, a partisan of the elder Baliol, and not improbably brother of Sir Gilbert,‡ as ancestor of the Lindsays of Lamberton Parva, still surviving as late as 1364.§ They expired however almost simultaneously, as would appear, with the dynasty of Bruce, to which the line of Lamberton had from the first been so bitterly opposed; and in the year 1371, Sir James of Crawford seems to have been the only male representative of the three brothers, David, Walter, and William de Lindsay, the sons of William of Ercildun, Luffness, and Crawford, High Justiciary of Scotland under King William the Lion.

I fear that these opening pages must have appeared rather wearisome to you. But it is only by ascending to the source of a river that one can appreciate its youthful character, its life and independence,—and though the richer foliage of the forest be wanting in those higher regions, there is still an interest attaching to the mosses and lichens that clothe the rocks of its nativity, and even the pebbles in its bed gleam like pearls through the broken mirror of its wave. We have now reached a more familiar epoch—a period of emerging and expansion into the broader vale of history—that of the accession of the House of Stuart.

* He served under Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, in the Scottish war in 1299, 1301. *Documents*, p. 209.—Ingelram de Gynes is said in 1297 to be "moram faciens in Scotia," with the Earl of Hereford, *Rot. Scot.*, tom. i. p. 31.

† *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.*, p. 249.

‡ His seal, engraved in the plate prefixed to this chapter, displays an orle, the Baliol cognisance.—"Walter de Lindesei, miles," witnesses a charter by King John Baliol to Nicholas de la Haye, of free warren of all his lands, 1 August, 1295, in the Errol charter-room, (*Spalding Miscellany*, tom. ii. p. 314,) and another, 4 June, 1295, *Reg. Epist. Glasg.*, tom. i. p. 212.—He is to be distinguished from the contemporary Sir Walter, of Thurston and Craigie, the partisan of Bruce.

§ *Rot. Scot.*, tom. i. p. 887; *Inquis. post Mortem*, tom. ii. p. 264; Carr's *Hist. of Coldingham*, p. 146.

CHAPTER II.

"There are seven fair flowers in yon green wood,
On a bush in the woods o' Lindsay;
There are seven braw flowers and as bonnie but,
Oh! the bonniest flower is Lindsay.
And she is aye my bonnie, bonnie rose,
She's the bonnie young Rose-a-Lindsay,
An' ae blink o' her e'e wad be dearer to me
Than the wale o' the lands o' Lindsay.

"But will I weep where I maunna woo,
An' the lan' in sic disorder?
My arm is strong, my heart is true,
An' the Percie's o'er the border.
Then fare ye weel, my bonnie, bonnie rose,
An' blest be the bonnie woods o' Lindsay;
I will gild my spurs in the blood o' her foes,
An' come back to the Rose-a-Lindsay!"

SCOTTISH BALLAD.

THE development of Scottish nationality was now complete, and, with the reign of Robert II., a period commences, brilliant but brief, which may be described as the chivalric age of Scotland.

Robert was scarcely seated on the throne when animosities began to revive with England; the truces were constantly infringed by raids and forays, and Sir James of Crawford, Sir Alexander, and Sir William Lindsay constantly appear among the commissioners appointed to redress these grievances.* The chivalrous spirit of Froissart throws a charm over this period of our national history; he visited Scotland, and was familiar with many of the "gentil knights" whose adventures and feats of arms he has so glowingly described.

One of these adventures, which chanced in 1378, singularly illustrates the spirit of the time. The Castle of Berwick, the key of the borders, had been taken from the English by a gallant squire, Alexander de Ramsay, grandson of Sir David of Crawford, with only forty men. On the news of this daring deed being

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, passim.

brought to the barons and knights of Scotland, they determined to march thither, to reinforce the castle, and protect Ramsay. Sir Archibald Douglas and Sir William of the Byres, the former cousin, the latter uncle to Ramsay, proceeded to Berwick accordingly, with a force of five hundred men, and on drawing near to the town sent out spies to reconnoitre the English, who were discovered drawn up in two battalions, ten thousand strong, before the gates.

"When Sir Archibald Douglas and the Scottish knights," continues Froissart, "heard this account, they were quite melancholy, and said, 'We cannot think it will be any way profitable for us to advance further to meet the English, for they are ten to one, and all tried men; we may lose more than we can gain, and a foolish enterprise is never good, and such is what Alexander Ramsay has performed.' Sir William Lindsay, a valiant knight, and uncle to Ramsay, took great pains to persuade them to succour his nephew, saying, 'Gentlemen, my nephew, in confidence of your assistance, has performed this gallant deed, and taken Berwick Castle,—it will turn to your great shame if he should be lost, and none of our family will in future thus boldly adventure themselves.'—Those present answered, 'that they could not amend it, and that the many gallant men who were there could not be expected to risk their own destruction in the attempt to prevent a single squire from being made prisoner.' It was therefore determined to retreat further up in their own country among the mountains near the river Tweed, whither they marched in good order and at their leisure."

In the mean while Alexander Ramsay and his forty followers made good their defence of Berwick for a considerable time against the ten thousand followers of the Earl of Northumberland, who pressed the siege with his miners and war-engines,* accompanied by Henry Percy, the celebrated Hotspur, who at this siege first entered on his military career. As might be expected, the castle was at last taken, and all its defenders, except Ramsay, were slain. After the recapture the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, determining to make an incursion after their enemies and to offer them battle, marched towards Roxburgh up Tweed-side, and directing their main course towards the Merse,

* "Si prês que as eschiet ne s'en put partir sans congé."

sent a detachment of three hundred men, under a brave knight named Sir Thomas Musgrave, to Melrose, to discover if any of the Scots were lurking there in ambush. Sir Thomas and his party, having arrived at Melrose, ordered two of their squires to scour the country, to find out the situation of the Scots, but these squires fell into an ambuscade commanded by Sir William Lindsay, "who had posted himself there," says Froissart, "in hopes of meeting with some adventure, and to hear news of Berwick, and also what had been the fate of his nephew Ramsay, and into whose hands he had fallen. This he was very anxious to learn. He had with him about forty lances. The English were seized immediately on entering this ambush, which gave the knight very great pleasure. He demanded from them whence they came, but they were afraid of speaking, lest they should betray their masters; however, they were forced to be explicit, for the knight assured them he would have them beheaded if they did not truly answer all the questions he should put to them. When things became so serious, and they saw no means of escaping, they related how the Castle of Berwick had been regained, and all found within put to death except Alexander Ramsay. They afterwards told how the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham were marching along Tweed-side in search of the Scots, and how Sir Thomas Musgrave, his son, Sir John Seton, and Sir Richard Brereton, with three hundred spears and as many archers, were lodged in the Abbey of Melrose; and that these knights had sent them out to discover where the Scots were. 'By my troth!'* replied Sir William, 'you have found us, and you will now remain with us!' They were then taken aside, and given up to some of their companions, with orders to guard them well under penalty of their lives. Sir William instantly sent off one of his men-at-arms, saying: 'Ride to our main army, and tell them all you have heard, and the situation of the English,—I will remain here till morning, to see if anything else may happen.'"—The envoy arrived in the evening at Haddington, where the Scottish army lay, and delivered his message; the Scots and English met on the plain of St. Giles, where the latter were totally defeated, and Sir Thomas Musgrave, with several of his colleagues, were taken prisoners.*

* Froissart, *Chron.*, tom. vii. p. 47, edit. Buchon.

Four years after this adventure, in 1382, the feuds which so long subsisted between the Glamis family and our own originated. A gentleman of the name of Lyon, the ancestor of the House of Glamis, had been recommended to the King by Sir James Lindsay, at whose instigation King Robert made him his private secretary, bestowed on him the Castle and thanedom of Glamis, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and finally created him High Chamberlain of Scotland. "What unthankfulness," says Godscroft, "Sir James did find in him afterwards, or did apprehend and conceive, it is not particularly set down; but finding his own credit with the King to decrease, and Lyon's to increase, and taking Lyon to be the cause thereof, esteeming it great ingratitude after so great benefit, he took it so highly and with such indignation, that, finding him accidentally in his way a little from Forfar," at a place called the Moss of Balhall, "he slew him very cruelly, and fearing the King's wrath, fled into a voluntary exile."—The Earls of Douglas and March, however, advocated his cause at court, and after a short absence, during which he went on pilgrimage to St. Thomas à Becket's shrine at Canterbury,* he was recalled and pardoned.†—It will surprise

* Safe-conduct, 16 Jan. 1383. *Rot. Scot.*, tom. ii. p. 46.

† "This Lyon," says Godscroft, "was a young man endued with all the natural gifts of body and mind that could be. He was comely in personage, well bred, and of a good carriage and winning behaviour, which made him to be well liked of all men, and in special by this James Lindsay; who received him into his train and made him his secretary. By this occasion being often at court, the King took notice of him, and liking his deportment, and upon Crawford's commendation, took him into his service, and made him his domestic secretary. It fell so out at last, that the King's daughter, by Elizabeth More, fell in love with him, and was made with child by him; which he revealed to the Earl of Crawford. The Earl, fearing that the King would take the matter heavily and heinously, and use the young man hardly, devised this way for his safety; he caused another gentleman of his acquaintance to take the blame on him, and to absent himself as guilty; and then, being very familiar with the King, deals with him to bestow his daughter (seeing she had thus fallen) on John Lyon, and to give him the lands of Glamis with her, which was done accordingly." *Boethius*, fol. 329 *verso*; House of Godscroft's *Hist. of the Houses of Douglas and Angus*, p. 88, edit. 1648.—"Sir John's death," says Crawford, "was much regretted by the whole court, and the King, his father-in-law, we are told, bore it with extraordinary grief, and for a long time could no wise be prevailed with to pardon Sir James Lindsay, though he was his nephew by his only sister, and, before that unhappy accident, his great favourite. He was, by the King's own direction, interred in the Abbey-church of Scone. He left a son behind him, who, being young at his father's death, the King his grandfather took him under his own immediate care and protection, not only his own person but all his

you to hear that this violator of the laws had held for many years, and I believe still held at the period in question, the High Justiciarship of Scotland—that it was either restored to him, or that he never forfeited it, acting as such long afterwards*—and that he figures hereafter as one of the most loyal and courteous knights of the age; but many of the "gentil knights" of Froissart were also feudal barons, and consequently the annals of the times, as harmonised from the contemporary narratives of the historian of chivalry and the homely monk—I say not this of Scotland only, but of all Europe—present often a strange mixture of courtesy and barbarism.—The Scotichronicon, in its brief allusion to the above affair, styles Sir James "Lord of Crawford and Buchan"—to the latter of which "dominia" he had acquired a right, but through what channel it is difficult to divine.† The title is constantly given to him afterwards.‡

The gallant and adventurous Sir Alexander of Glenesk died this same year, 1382, in the island of Candia, on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.§ His last act before leaving home had been to rebuild his parish-church at Finhaven, and assemble his family and friends to its consecration by the bishop of the diocese.‖ He too had been for several years High Justiciary of the North of Scotland, at first singly, latterly (I believe) in association with his

dependents, *terras suas, homines suos*, and his whole estate, whether moveable or immoveable, *universa possessiones suas, omnia bona sua, mobilia seu immobilia*, strictly inhibiting and discharging any person whatsoever to injure or molest him or them, under the highest penalty the law could inflict." *Officers of State*, p. 304.

* He appears frequently as Justiciary, between 1373 and 1377 inclusive, in the *Chamberlain Rolls*, tom. ii. pp. 29, 31, 50, 57, 94,—and a judgment or decree passed by him with assent of his Council, in 1387, is printed in the *Collections for the Hist. of Aberdeenshire*, Spalding Club, p. 173.—He was also Sheriff of Lanarkshire in 1373, by grant for life, *Chamberlain Rolls*, tom. ii. p. 57.

† *Scotichronicon*, tom. ii. p. 395.—I may refer to the Appendix, No. VIII., for some interesting observations on this subject, and on the ancient Earldom of Buchan, furnished to me by the kindness of Joseph Robertson, Esq.

‡ He was also Lord of Wigton, by charter, 19 April, 1372. Rob. *Index*, pp. 97, 130.

§ *Scotichron.*, tom. ii. p. 395.—Sir Alexander Lindsay and Sir John Edmonstone had a safe-conduct, 4 Dec. 1381, to pass through England towards the Holy Land, *Rot. Scot.*, tom. ii. pp. 40, 60.

‖ Charter by Sir Alexander, 31st Aug. 1380, engrossed in a Confirmation by Robert II., preserved in the charter-chest of Mrs. Sterrit Duff of Corsindae. Communicated to me by Joseph Robertson, Esq.

nephew, Sir James.* He was succeeded by his eldest son, the celebrated Sir David, subsequently Earl of Crawford.

Sir William of the Byres also went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and knighted the son of St. Bridget of Sweden at the Holy Sepulchre, but the date of this expedition does not appear.†

Hostilities with England were renewed in the spring of 1383. A truce had been entered into between the English, Scots, and French, near Boulogne, and the French, who had engaged to give notice of this to the Scots, had neglected to do so. The English border nobles took advantage of this remissness to enter Scotland soon after Easter, and before the publication of the treaty, and made a vast havoc of the country, "giving," says Froissart, "the lands of the Earl of Douglas and the Lord of Lindsay to the flames, and sparing to burn nothing as far as Edinburgh."‡

The Scottish barons were highly incensed at this outrage, and the King had given orders that a large army should be assembled for the purpose of intercepting the English on their retreat to their own country; when the arrival of the ambassadors sent from France to notify the truce caused him to change his mind, and he then did all in his power to induce them to accept the truce while it was in their option. "This," says Froissart, "caused a difference between the King and the knights of his country. The Earls of Moray and Douglas and the Children of Lindsay"—(including under this patriarchal title the "Sire de Lindsay," or Sir James, and the other contemporary knights of the family, whom he describes as Sir James's six brethren, "six frères, tous chevaliers")—"held a secret meeting with such knights and squires of Scotland as wished for war, in the church St. Giles, in Edinburgh," where they fixed upon Dalkeith as their trysting-place, and marched accordingly into England at the head of fifteen thousand men, on a retaliatory foray, wasting the lands of the Percies and Mowbrays and of the Earl of Nottingham, and the whole country to the gates of Newcastle. King Robert had

* He had held the office of Justiciary for several years before 1373, *Chamberlain Rolls*, tom. ii. p. 29,—was Justiciary in 1378, p. 101, and in 1379, p. 109.

† *Scotichron.*, tom. i. p. 281.

‡ "Entrèrent en Ecosse, et ardirent la terre au Conte de Douglas et celle au Seigneur de Lindsay, et ne épargnèrent rien à ardoir jusques à Edimbourg." *Chron.*, tom. ix. p. 20, edit. Buchon.

no difficulty in clearing himself of any participation in this inroad, the whole expedition having been kept secret from him. He sent a herald from himself and the French ambassadors to testify to his having assented to the proposed truce, and commanded, "as strongly as lay in him," his vassals to do the same,—but that the Douglasses, the Earl of Marr, and "all these brethren De Lindsay," the Ramsays, and Sir William Seyton, would neither attend the parliament in which the treaty was agreed to, nor assent to the truce,—such damage, as they asserted, having been done to their lands by the English. The explanation was deemed satisfactory, and the heralds returned to Scotland with the letters of truce, which were proclaimed throughout the two kingdoms.*

No sooner had the truce expired than hostilities recommenced. An auxiliary force under John de Vienne, Admiral of France, was sent to Scotland, but these foreign friends were found to be rather an incumbrance, the old system of starving and worrying the invading armies proving the most effective.† The English, under the Duke of Lancaster, entered Scotland with a large force, but found the country a desert; everything had been removed, and famine and sickness at once weakened and destroyed his army, while the desultory warfare of cutting off the English foraging parties was carried on with its usual success. While the Duke's army was thus occupied, his fleet attacked the isle of Incheolm, where they robbed and burnt the monastery, and committed similar outrages wherever they landed, till they were encountered, with a mere handful of followers, by

"Young Alysawndyr the Lyndyssay,"

younger son of the late Sir Alexander of Glenesk, and almost immediately afterwards by his cousin Sir Thomas Erskine,‡ with a "joly company," riding from the East. Joining their forces, which amounted to about eighty horse, they attacked the English

* *Froissart*, tom. ix. pp. 26 sqq.

† De Vienne brought large subsidies from France to be distributed among the principal Scottish nobles, towards the expenses of the war. Sir James received two thousand livres tournois, equivalent to eight thousand pounds of modern money, Sir David of Glenesk five hundred, equal to two thousand, and Sir William of the Byres the like sum. Rym. *Fœd.*, tom. vi. p. 462.

‡ Sir Thomas was the eldest son of Beatrice de Lindsay, sister of Sir David of Crawford, by her second husband Sir Robert Erskine of that Ilk.

near Queensferry, killed many, and drove the rest back to their ships in such terror, that, besides the loss sustained in their hasty retreat, they suffered forty of their men, who were upon one of the ropes, after it was cut, to be drowned before their eyes.*

Nor did the Scots submit tamely to these devastations. They made similar inroads on the North of England, burning and destroying the country. This state of things continued till the approach of winter, when the English nobles, dreading the difficulties they might be exposed to in crossing the mountains of Cumberland, retreated homewards; the foreign auxiliaries returned to France, and the Scots to the Lowlands, where, with half a dozen stakes, they rebuilt their houses, and, bringing their cattle out of the recesses of the forests whither they had been driven for concealment, speedily resumed their ancient habits and occupations.

But, of all these forays and combats, none are remembered in general history except the battle of Otterburn, by far the most chivalric conflict of the age, and which, in all its circumstances, strikingly illustrates the character of the Scottish feudal aristocracy, their political relationship to, or rather independence of the sovereign, and the general spirit of national warfare towards the close of the fourteenth century.

Great enmity having recently arisen between the Percies and Nevilles, the two most powerful families on the English borders, the Scottish barons judged it a favourable opportunity for a retaliatory foray on England. "In order," says Froissart, "that their intentions might be known, they appointed a feast to be holden at Aberdeen, on the borders of the Highlands. The greater part of the barons attended, and it was then resolved that in the middle of August, 1388, they should assemble all their forces at a castle called Jedworth, situated among the deep forests, and on the borders of Cumberland. Having arranged everything concerning this business, they separated, but never mentioned one word of their intentions to the King, for they said among themselves he knew nothing about war."

Accordingly, on the appointed day, the "Children of Lindsay"—to wit, Sir James of Crawford, the "Sire de Lindsay"—Sir

* Wyntown's *Cronykyl*, tom. ii. p. 320.—Sir Alexander was afterwards slain at the battle of Verneuil, 1424. *Boethius*, fol. 345.

David of Glenesk, Sir William of the Byres, Sir Alexander of Wauchopdale, and Sir John of Dunrod—came with their followers to the trysting-place, where they met their kinsman the Earl of Douglas, with the Earls of Fife and Moray, and various other powerful Scottish barons. They formed the most numerous assembly that had been seen for sixty years in Scotland, and, the more effectually to combine their plans, appointed another meeting to take place at Yetholm before they began their march into England.

The English nobles, meanwhile, having received information of the intended rendezvous at Jedworth, from the minstrels and heralds, whom, as privileged spies, they had sent to attend the meeting at Aberdeen, made secret preparations in their own country to resist the apprehended invasion. They despatched one of their squires to attend the third conference at Yetholm, and discover the intentions of the Scots. In the disguise of a groom he entered the church where the Scottish chiefs were in council, and heard the whole proceedings, but, when he returned to the place where he had left his horse tied, he found it had been stolen, and fearful of exciting suspicion by enquiring after it, set off on foot, booted and spurred as he was, homewards.

This very caution occasioned his detection. "I have witnessed many wonderful things," said a Scots knight to his friend as they stood near the church-door, "but what I now see is equal to any; that man yonder has, I believe, lost his horse, and yet makes no enquiry after it; on my troth, I doubt much if he belongs to us; let us go after him, and see whether I am right or not."

They soon overtook him, and on their approach, says the historian, with much simplicity, "he was alarmed, and wished himself anywhere else." His contradictory answers confirmed their suspicions; they brought him back to the church, and threatened him with death if he did not truly answer all their questions. Love of life prevailed, and he told them all he knew concerning the force and disposition of the English, who, inferior in numbers, wished to avoid an encounter with the Scots, intending, while the latter were foraying England, "by way of counteracting their career," to invade Scotland. "Should you march to Cumberland," said he, "they will take the road through Berwick to Dunbar, Dalkeith, and Edinburgh; if you follow the other road, they

will then march to Carlisle, and enter your country by these mountains."

"The barons of Scotland," continues Froissart, "were in high spirits at this intelligence, and considered their success as certain, now they knew the disposition of the enemy. They held a council as to their mode of proceeding, and the wisest and most accustomed to arms, such as Sir Archibald Douglas, the Earl of Fife, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Sir John Sinclair, and Sir James Lindsay, were the speakers." They determined that the army should be divided, and two expeditions made, so that the enemy might be puzzled whither to direct their forces. The first and largest of these divisions (to be commanded, according to Boece,* by the Earls of Fife and Menteith, Sir Alexander Lindsay of Wauchopdale, and other great barons of Scotland) was, with the baggage, to advance towards Carlisle; the other, consisting of three or four hundred spears, and two thousand stout infantry and archers, was to proceed, under the Earl of Douglas, Sir James Lindsay, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Sir John Sinclair, and others, to Newcastle-on-Tyne, cross the river, and enter Durham, spoiling and burning the country. They would have committed much mischief before the enemy would receive any intelligence of it, and then, in case of pursuit, the two armies should unite and fight together.

Accordingly, on the appointed day, they entered England with displayed banners, ready to lift cattle, burn, and slay, as was the custom in these border raids. Douglas and his division proceeded through Northumberland, which they did not molest, but as soon as they entered the bishopric of Durham, the plundering began; they ravaged the whole country to the gates of Durham, and then returned to Newcastle, where they remained two days to try the mettle of the English warriors. In one of these skirmishes Douglas took Hotspur Percy's pennon, and swore he would carry it to Scotland, and set it on his castle. Percy vowed he should never take it out of Northumberland, to which Douglas replied, "Then you must come this night, and take it from before my tent." Percy's wish to attack the Scots that night was, however, overruled; proceeding on their way, they arrived the following day at Otterburn, a small village about twelve miles from Newcastle; the castle held out, and the Scottish leaders determined to

* *Boeth.* fol. 332.

stay there a day or two, in order to reduce it, and to give Percy an opportunity of regaining his banner.

Hotspur, on hearing that the Scots were waiting for him, got out for Newcastle immediately after dinner, and arrived on the field just after sunset. It was a sweet summer's evening, clear and bright, and the breeze blew soft and fresh,*—most of the Scots had taken their evening meal and lain down to rest, when the Percy's war-cry roused them. The English attacked their encampment with the greatest fury, but the sutlers and followers of the army defended a barricade of waggons that had been placed there to guard against a surprise, with such determined courage, that no impression could be made in that quarter, and the Scottish commanders, having in the mean time armed themselves and arrayed their men, were now ready for action. Douglas, sweeping by a silent movement round the hill, fell full on the flank of the English, while they were engaged in a marsh which bordered on and defended the Scottish encampment; the melée became general, and for some hours they fought by moonlight,—neither would yield, though the gallant Scottish band fought against treble their number. At last the noble Douglas, rushing too hastily forwards, was borne down mortally wounded by the English lances. It was not at first known who had fallen, for the tide of battle was for the moment setting against the Scots, and some time elapsed before the English were again forced to give way, and the spot where Douglas fell was cleared.

Sir James Lindsay, Sir John and Sir Walter Sinclair were the first to discover him as he lay bleeding to death. "How fares it with you, cousin?" asked Sir John. "But poorly," said he, "yet, God be thanked! few of my fathers have died in bed! There has long been a prophecy that a dead Douglas should win a field; I trust it will now be fulfilled. My heart sinks—I am dying—do you, Walter, and you, John Sinclair, raise my banner, and cry 'Douglas!' and tell neither friend nor foe I am lying here."

These were his last words; Sir James never saw him afterwards. They raised the banner, and with cries of "Douglas! Douglas!" fell afresh on the enemy; their companions behind them came

* "Il faisoit assez clair, car la lune luisoit; et si étoit au mois d'Août, et faisoit bel et cler (clair), et si étoit l'air coi (calme), pur, et net." *Froissart.*

hurrying up when they heard the cry, and overtook them as they fought round the banner which John Sinclair carried; and ever they cried, "Douglas! Douglas!" and plied axe and spear and sword till the English gave way and the field was won.—When they returned to the spot where they had left Douglas, he was dead. Hotspur and his brother Sir Ralph were taken prisoners after a brave resistance, and with them were captured or slain almost the whole chivalry of the North of England. The prisoners were treated with the greatest courtesy, as if they had been the brothers of the victors. "Of all the battles," says Froissart, "that have been described in this history, great and small, this of which I am now speaking was the best fought and the most severe, for there was not a man, knight or squire, who did not acquit himself gallantly, hand to hand with his enemy."—"I had my information," he adds, "from both parties, who agree that it was the hardest and most obstinate battle that was ever fought."

Douglas's body was carried by the army to Melrose, and he slept with his fathers, his banner waving over him.

Such was the battle of Otterburn! The defeat of the English was complete, and the Scots chased them for five miles. The ancient ballad bears witness to the valour of "the Lindsays light and gay" on that eventful evening:—

> "The Lindsays flew like fire about
> Till all the fray was done."*

But Sir James's adventures were not yet ended. When the Scots had returned from the pursuit, Sir David and Sir John Lindsay asked after their chief, but none could give them any news of him, whereat, says Froissart, they marvelled and grieved

* Sir James Lindsay is noticed under the title of "Dominus de Buchan" in the English ballad of Otterburn:—

> "The Lord of Bewghan in armure bright
> On the other hand he shall be," &c.

—Percy's *Reliques*.—The epithet "licht," or light, usually applied alliteratively to the Lindsays in Scotland, implies "cheerful, or lightsome," in Northern speech. "In the old days of clanship," says Mr. Chambers, "when every different family had distinctly different characteristics as well as interests, this great Angus clan was usually designated 'the light Lindsays,' probably on account of some peculiar levity of disposition which they might think proper to manifest in their military conduct."—*Scottish Ballads*, p. 14,—the most select and best edited collection I know of.

much, doubting not but that either he had been slain or taken prisoner. "Now," says the chronicler, "I will tell you what befel the said knight of Scotland."

Sir Matthew Redman, Governor of Berwick, and commander, in conjunction with Sir Robert Ogle, of one of the two great "battles," or divisions, in which Percy had marshalled his army, had mounted his horse to fly—very reluctantly, but still, all things considered, he alone could not recover the day. Sir James Lindsay, noticing his departure, and being mounted on a fleet charger, immediately galloped after him, lance in hand, and after a chase of more than three English leagues,* got so close to him that he might, had he chosen it, have stricken him with his lance. But, instead of doing so, he shouted to him repeatedly, "Ha! Sir Knight!" (for he saw well that he was one, though he knew not his name), "turn ye!—'tis foul shame thus to fly!—you have only me to cope with—and if you can discomfit me—I am Sir James de Lindsay!"

When Sir Matthew heard that, he pulled in his horse, and wheeling round, drew his sword and betook himself cheerily to his defence. Sir James aimed at him with his lance, but Sir Matthew, by writhing his body, escaped the blow, and the point of the lance was buried in the ground, and there remained fixed. Sir Matthew cut it in two with his sword. Sir James then threw the truncheon on the ground and seized his battle-axe, which hung from his neck, (and well he knew how to use it!) and assailed Sir Matthew, who defended himself bravely. Thus they pursued each other for a long time by the light of the moon, the one with the axe, the other with the sword, for there was no one to interrupt them.

During a pause in this tourney, Sir James Lindsay asked Sir Matthew, "Knight, who art thou?" to which the other replied, "I am Sir Matthew Redman."—"Well," rejoined Sir James, "since we have thus met, I must conquer thee, or thou me!"—and then began the battle again, and they had no other weapons save the one his sword and the other his battle-axe, which he used with one hand very dexterously, the Scots being accustomed thus to handle it.

At last, Sir Matthew's sword flew out of his hand in a return-stroke, and he stood defenceless. "Lindsay," said he, "I yield

* "Trois lieues Angloises." *Froissart.*

me."—"Rescue, or no rescue?" asked Sir James.—"I consent. You will bear me good company?"—"By Saint George, I will!" rejoined the knight, "and for a beginning, since you are my prisoner, what shall I do for you?"—"I wish," said Sir Matthew, "that you would allow me to return to Newcastle, and by Saint Michael's day I will render me at Dunbar, or Edinburgh, or at any port you chuse in Scotland."—"I am willing," said James, —"let it be at Edinburgh on the day you name."*

With these words they took leave of each other, Sir Matthew returning to Newcastle, walking his horse gently, as it was much fatigued.

"Now," saith Froissart the chronicler, "I will tell you a marvellous adventure which befel the knight of Scotland—an adventure not to be forgotten in connection with this night of peril—a freak of fortune such as often becbanceth in love and war. Sir James might well say, 'This morning I thought to have gained much, but in sooth I have lost more than enough in chasing the English.' I will tell you why."

Sir James had no sooner parted with Sir Matthew, than he and his squire (who, it appears, had followed him closely through all the vicissitudes of this eventful night) entangled themselves in the mazes of a broad heath, covered with furze and thickets of low wood, and entirely lost their road—which Sir James soon found out, but it was then too late to remedy the evil. No stars were visible, the moon had gone down, and the night was dark and gloomy. Coming at last to a path which ran, as he thought, in the right direction, he pursued it,—alas! it was the direct road to Newcastle; and he would have arrived at the gates, of his own accord, before day-break, but for a previous rencontre with the Bishop of Durham, who had been too late for the battle, and

* "Such," says Holinshed, "was in those days the humanity among the borderers and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day doth continue between the inhabitants of those places. But if any do not return at the day appointed, this punishment is set upon him for a perpetual disgrace, that in the assemblies of true days (to demand restitutions of things and injuries done by the one nation to the other) they use that he which complaineth himself to be deceived by his prisoner (on his promise) doth carry about a hand or glove painted on a cloth, with a long staff or spear, to be seen of all men; the which is accounted a singular infamy to the deserver thereof. For they which have so broken their faith be ever after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishonesty they will not afford them good report or entertainment."

was at that very moment returning to Newcastle by a path running, it seems, nearly parallel with the one Sir James had taken.

Sir James's horse, scenting the English horses, began to neigh and caracole, and paw the ground, and press in that direction, and the knight, thinking that they were his friends, and that he was close to Otterburn, gave him the rein, and, in unsuspecting confidence, rode into the midst of the Bishop's company. The Bishop, seeing the dark shadow of a horse and rider, rode forward and asked, "Who goes there? friend or foe, herald or minstrel?" to which Sir James, still unaware of his situation, replied, "I am James de Lindsay." "Ha! Sir Knight," cried the Bishop, "you are very welcome! render yourself my prisoner!"—"And who are you?" asked the astonished intruder.—"I am Robert de Neville, priest, and Bishop of Durham."

Sir James saw well that resistance would be useless, surrounded, as he was, by five hundred men, and said only, "Sith it must be so, God's will be done!" Thus they rode on together to Newcastle, Sir James entertaining the Bishop with the account of his chase and capture of Sir Matthew. "And where is he?" asked the Bishop. "By my faith," replied Lindsay, "I have seen nothing of him since I fianced him; he started for Newcastle, and I was on my road to Otterburn"—"In my opinion," interrupted the Bishop, "you chose your road ill enough, Sir James! for lo! this is Newcastle which we are now entering." "I cannot help it," answered Sir James, "I have taken, and I am taken,—such is the fate of arms! I had fixed Sir Matthew's day for appearing at Edinburgh, but I think he need not trouble himself to take so long a journey to make his fynance." "So it seems," rejoined the Bishop.*

* Stewart, who, in his metrical paraphrase of Boece, has inserted and disfigured the episode so charmingly told by Froissart, amplifies the Bishop's self-gratulation as follows:—

"This ilk bishop that ilk time said and beach,[a]
'Now see I weill I am happit anerch,
That nather gave, to yet has taen me strak,
Ane waillit weirman,[b] wight as ony aik,[c]
Of noble kindd, now at my pleasure here,
Lo! I half gottin to be prisonair!

Had

[a] Laughed. [b] A chosen warrior. [c] Oak.

With these words they entered Newcastle, and all went to their several lodgings; Sir James continuing with the Bishop as his guest and prisoner. Guards were set, for fear of the Scots, at all the gates, towers, and walls, and the Bishop himself watched at the principal barrier till sun-rise.

Meanwhile, Sir Matthew Redman had also reached Newcastle, a little before the Bishop's arrival, and after disarming himself, (as a captive knight,) and putting on other clothes, he went to wait on the Bishop at his lodging, where he met Richard Hebedon,* Sir James's squire, who told him the whole story of his master's misadventure.

Greatly did Sir Matthew marvel at this news, and then bade the squire lead him to his master's apartment. He found Sir James leaning against the window, looking out, and very melancholy—doubtless for the loss of his friend Douglas. The two knights recognised each other immediately by day-light, having often met before on the borders and at the march-meetings. "What has brought you here, Sir James?" was Sir Matthew's salutation. "By my faith, Redman!" replied the former, interrupting his sad thoughts, and turning to meet him—"ill-luck!"—and then repeated the tale already told. "I believe," he added, "there will be no need of your coming to Edinburgh to obtain your ransom, for we can finish the matter here, if my

> "Had all the laif[a] been as happie as I,
> The Scottis had nocht win sic victory!'
> "This Matthew Redman that same time was there,
> And saw the Lindsay when his face was bare,"[b] &c.

—A copy of this work (a large folio volume of many thousand lines) is preserved in the University Library at Cambridge. It was begun, says the author, on the 18th of April, 1530, and finished on the 29th of September, 1535. It is probably the composition of one of the two poets of the name of Stewart mentioned by Sir David Lindsay as his contemporaries.'—The author promises, (fo. 253,) that he will speak truth concerning Alexander Stewart, the Wolf of Badenoch,

> "Of my father though proevus was he."

And again,

> "Proevus als sic-like was to my mother,
> The Erel of March callit George of Dunbar."

* Possibly a mistake for "Hepburn." The late Sir Thomas Lauder has so represented it in his romance, 'The Wolf of Badenoch.'

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[a] Remainder. [b] With his visor lifted, or without his helmet.

[c] *Complaint of the Papingo*, Works, tom. i. p. 286, edit. Chalmers.

master consent to it."—"We shall soon agree as to that," rejoined Sir Matthew, "but you must come and dine with me, for the Bishop and his men are going to attack your countrymen; I know not what success they will have, nor shall we be informed till their return."—"I accept your invitation," answered Lindsay.

Then, concludes Froissart, did these two knights rally each other, and handy many blythe words of merriment, and thus said the English knight, "By my faith, little did I think to find my master, Sir James Lindsay, here!"—"Such," replied the Scot, "is the chance of arms. As little thought I last night to have gained so little by chasing the English!" *

The proposed exchange does not however seem to have been effected,—at least no sooner did the news of Sir James's capture reach King Richard at Cambridge, than he despatched a mandate, with advice of his Great Council, to Earl Henry of Northumberland, "that he should on no account dismiss Sir James Lindsay, of Scotland, knight, now newly captured in battle on our side," either for pledge or ransom, till further orders.† I cannot say therefore how the affair terminated between Sir James and Sir Matthew,—but it was an interference of this sort many years afterwards which mainly contributed to the rebellion of the North under Hotspur.

Not long after this conflict of Otterburn the English and French met at Lolinghen, between Boulogne and Calais, with the view of concluding a truce for three years; the Bishop of Aberdeen, Sir Archibald Douglas, Sir John Sinclair, and Sir William of the Byres were sent as commissioners for Scotland to protest against it,‡—the treaty however was concluded, and a joint embassy of English and French despatched to Scotland, who persuaded the

* Froissart, *Chron.*, tom. xi. chap. 118, 119, 120, ed. Buchon; tom. iii. chap. 115, 116, ed. Reginault, 1513,—*Knyghton*, who says, "de Scotis multi capti sunt, inter quos Jacobus de Lindsay, frater reginæ Scotiæ, vir potentissimus," *Chron.* ap. Twysden, col. 2728,—*Boeth.*, p. 332,—Mills' *Hist. of Chivalry*, tom. ii. p. 82.—A ballad entitled 'The Rose-a-Lindsay,' referential to the Sir James and his "six frères tous chevaliers" celebrated by Froissart, was published not long ago in the Aberdeen Herald as "an old ballad, appearing to be of considerable antiquity, and not, as it is believed, to be found in print." I have prefixed a couple of its verses as a motto to the present chapter, but it will be found entire in the Appendix, No. IX.

† Rym. *Fœd.*, tom. vii. p. 607.

‡ Froissart, *Chron.*, tom. xi. p. 493.

Scottish nobles to become parties to this cessation of hostilities,—to the great delight of the King, who had long been desirous of seeing his country enjoying those blessings of peace, which his warlike barons did not so readily appreciate. He died shortly afterwards, and his son was crowned by the title of Robert III., on the 14th of August, 1390, the day after his father's interment.

CHAPTER III.

"When Schyr David the Lyndyssay rade
Til Londyn, and there journé made."

WYNTOWN'S CRONYKYL.

"O goodly usage of those antique tymes,
In which the sword was servaunt unto right;
When not for malice and contentious crymes,
But all for prayse and proofe of manly might,
The martiall brood accustomed to fight;
Then honour was the meed of victory,
And yet the vanquished had no displight:
Let later age that noble use envy,
Vyle rancour to avoid and cruel surquedry."

FAERIE QUEENE.

THE reign of Robert III. began auspiciously; the truces were renewed, and the three kingdoms seemed alike desirous of peace. The mortal conflicts in which the Scots and English had so lately been engaged were now exchanged for the amicable, less sanguinary, but equally glorious combats of the lists, which were never in higher estimation than towards the close of the fourteenth century.

I must now introduce you, in a more particular manner, to Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, as a bright example of knightly worth, the accomplishments of the warrior combining in his character with the amiable qualities of the man, while both were enlivened by a spirit of repartee, of which more than one sally is recorded by the old chroniclers of Scotland. Of his chivalrous expedition to the court of England, undertaken in his twenty-fifth year,* in 1390, they have given us ample details, dwelling upon them with peculiar satisfaction, our countrymen having distinguished themselves so highly in every contest.

* He was born, in all probability, in 1366, the year after the settlement of Glenesk by Catherine Stirling on his father Sir Alexander.

This "passage of arms" originated as follows.

John Lord Welles, a warrior of great celebrity,* having been sent ambassador into Scotland by Richard II., chanced to be carousing with the Scottish nobles at a solemn banquet, where, the conversation turning on valiant deeds of arms, and Sir David eagerly extolling the prowess of his countrymen, he exclaimed, "Let words have no place; if you know not the chivalry and valiant deeds of Englishmen, assail ye me, day and place where ye list, and ye shall soon have experience." Then said Sir David, "I will assail ye!"—Lord Welles naming London Bridge for the place, Sir David appointed the festival of St. George for the day of combat, "be reason that he was some-time ane valiant knight,"†—and forthwith began preparations for his expedition.‡

All being ready, in the words of the Prior of Lochleven,

> "A thousand, three hunder, and ninety year
> Fra the birth of our Lord dear,
> The good Lyndyssay, Sir Davie,
> Of Glenesk the Lord mightie,
> Honest, able, and avenand,§
> Pass'd on conduct ‖ in England,
> With knights, squires, and other men
> Of his awin retinue then;

---

* "Lord Welles was a descendant of Adam de Welles, who lived in the time of Richard I., and he had served in the wars in Flanders, France, and Scotland, under the Kings Edward III. and Richard II., and the valiant John Duke of Lancaster. As he was ten years old at his father's death, in 1360, he must have been about forty when he justed on London Bridge; and after being summoned to parliament from 1378 to 1420, he is supposed to have died in the following year on the Tuesday next after the feast of St. Bartholomew, which being Sunday, Aug. 24, 1421, made it the 26th of the month. He bore for arms, 'or, a lion rampant, double queué, sable.'" —*Chronicles of London Bridge*, 1827, p. 201.

† *Boethius, translated by Bellenden.*

‡ It appears from Wyntown that a formal "tuylyhe," taillie, or instrument of agreement, was drawn up, and signed or sealed by both parties, binding them to the combat. This was not unusual, and the conditions of the tourney were frequently specified in such documents. One of the two duplicates executed on the present occasion may perhaps be some day discovered.

§ Comely.

‖ Safe-conduct. His passports, original and of prolongation, for himself and his retinue of twenty-eight persons, including two knights, squires, valets, &c., are printed in the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, tom. ii. pp. 103, 104,—and translations of them in the *Chronicles of London Bridge*. Among them is one for the ship 'St. Mary' of Dundee, freighted with "unum integrum harnesium de guerrâ pro corpore David Lyndesey de Scotiâ, militis."

Where he and all his company
Was well arrayed and daintily,
And all purveyed at device;
There was his purpose to win prise."*

He was received with high honour by King Richard, and on the appointed day—both parties appearing in great state at London Bridge, cased in armour of proof, and mounted on mighty war-horses—he entered the lists against the Lord of Welles. The scene was splendid; the fair ladies and gallant knights of Richard's court were seated all around, the King and Queen—Anne of Bohemia, surnamed the Good—in the highest places of honour, while a great concourse of the common people attended, attracted by the interest of the spectacle and the fame of the antagonists.†

After the usual preliminary ceremonies, at the stirring blast of the trumpet, the knights rushed at each other on their "mighty horses right eagerly," with spears sharply ground, "to the death;" they attainted,‡ and both spears were broken, but in this adventure the Scottish knight sat so strong, that, although Lord Welles's spear was shivered to pieces on his helmet and visor, he stirred not, insomuch that the spectators cried out that, contrary to the law of arms, he was "locked," or tied, to the saddle. This suspicion he disproved by riding up to the royal chair, vaulting lightly out of his saddle, making his obeisance to royalty, and leaping back again into his seat "right deliverly" without touching the stirrup, or receiving any assistance, although loaded with complete armour. "Incontinent they rushit to-

* To win honour.

† "And now, Sir, let us suppose the parapet of London Bridge decorated with rich hangings of tapestry and cloth of gold, such as we know it was customary to adorn those edifices with on occasions of rejoicing and triumph. The lists, you remember, were sixty paces in length by forty in breadth, but as the whole width of the bridge was but forty feet, this rule, though made by Thomas Duke of Gloucester, uncle to Richard II., must have been dispensed with. The ground within the lists was to be paved with large stones, hard, level, and firm; and the entrances, which were commonly erected East and West, were to be fenced with bars, seven feet or more in height, that a horse might not be able to leap over them. At either end of the lists were erected the tents of the tilters, having their shields suspended over the entrances, which it was also customary to hang up, at once to denote their residence and to declare their knightly intentions." *Chron. of London Bridge.*

‡ "The attaint" consisted "in striking the helmet and shield of one's antagonist firmly and strongly, with the lance held in a direct line, so that the weapon might break, unless the champion was overthrown." *Froissart.*

gidder with new spears the seegud time, with burning ire to conquess (acquire) honour. But in the third rink," (or course—having exchanged their spears for stronger ones,) "Lord Welles was doung (struck) out of the saddle with sic violence that he fell to the ground,"

"Flatlings down upon the green"—

"with great displeasure of Englishmen."*

Sir David then himself dismounted, and they commenced a desperate foot-combat with their daggers, which ended in the total discomfiture of Lord Welles; for Sir David, fastening his dagger between the joints of his antagonist's armour, lifted him off his feet, and hurled him to the ground, where he lay at his mercy.

King Richard, who had seen the whole affair from his "summer castelle," called out to the victor,

"Lyndyssay, cousin, good Lyndyssay!†
Do furth that thou should do this day"—

meaning that, if he wished to push the matter to extremity, as the laws of these combats *à l'outrance* permitted, no one should hinder him.

It was then that the victorious knight displayed the grace, sweetness, and courtesy of his chivalry, for, raising his foe, and taking him kindly by the hand, he led him beneath the ladies' gallery, and "presented him to the Queen as his gift, wishing, like a true knight, that mercy should proceed from woman."‡ The Queen thanked him, and then gave liberty to Lord Welles. Sir David supported him in the lists till a leech arrived, "tenderly embracing him, that the people might understand he fought with na hatrent, allanerly (solely) for the gloir of victory." He

* Bellenden's *Boece*,—the verse "Flatlings," &c., from Wyntown.

† The epithet "cousin" was not given by courtesy in those days, but only in cases of actual kindred. I do not however know what relationship existed between Sir David and Richard Plantagenet. Sir David signs himself "cousin" in addressing Henry IV., and Henry designs his son, Alexander Earl of Crawford, his "carissimus consanguineus" in 1407,—but Henry was personally akin to almost all the nobles of Scotland through his maternal descent from the great House of Cumyn, and he made the most of the relationship.

‡ Mills' *History of Chivalry*.

visited him afterwards every day till he recovered from the effects of his fall. Such was

"The Lyndyssay.
That in his deed all courteous was!"*

* Wyntown's *Cronykil*, tom. ii. p. 353; *Boeth.*, fol. 347; Bellenden's *Boece*, tom. ii. p. 470; Holinshed's *Chronicle of Scotland*, p. 366; Mills' *Hist. of Chivalry*, tom. i. p. 17; Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, tom. iii. p. 80.—I subjoin Wyntown's graphic description of this tourney, as a choice specimen of pure old Scotch at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

"Sa even upon the sixth day
Of that month that we call May,
Thai ilk foresaid lordis twa,
The Lyndyssay and the Welles, thai
On horse are agane other ran,
As their taillie[a] had ordained than.[b]
The Lyndyssay there, with manful force,
Strak quite the Welles fra his horse
Flatlings down upon the green;
There all his saddle toom[c] was seen.
All the people standand by
Of this deed had great ferly,[d]
For in all England before than
The Welles was a commendit man,
Manful, stout, and of guid pith,
And high of heart he was therewith.
And therest meny Englishmen
Had baith despite and envy then;
Sa, for despite and great envie,
They to the King tauld privily
That then the Lyndyssay fast was tied.
That well was proved, the teller lied!
For fra[e] the Lyndyssay gat witting
That it was tauld sa to the King,
Sittand on his horse, but bade,[f]
Even on furth to the King he rade,
And off his horse deliverly[g]
He lap down—that the King clearly
Kennd well that they falsely lied
That said the Lyndyssay before was tied.
Then said the Lyndyssay reverently,
To the King kneeling courteously,
'Excellent prince! now may ye
Gif I was tied clearly see.'
And when he had said that, than,
Withouten help of any man,
But be his awin agile force,
Again he lap upon his horse,
All the lave[h] for to fulfil
That langed be the taillie thertil.

"When

[a] Agreement, indenture.
[b] Then.
[c] Empty.
[d] Marvel.
[e] As soon as.
[f] Without delay.
[g] Nimbly.
[h] The rest.

Sir David tarried three months in England at King Richard's desire, "sporting and feasting among the nobles," and "highly praised of all estates for his noble port and great liberality."* He then returned to Scotland, after entertaining the English nobles at a sumptuous farewell banquet.†

* Holinshed's *Chronicle*.

† A repartee of Sir David's at this banquet is thus told by Boethius. An English knight, hearing the heralds loudly extolling Sir David's prowess, exclaimed

---

"When all their courses on horse was done,
Togidder they mellayed on foot soon,
With all their weapons, as be the taillis
Obliged they were for til assaillie.
Sa with their knives at the last
Ilk ane at other strak right fast.
Sa, of this to tell you mair,
The Lyndysay fastened his dagger
Intil Welles' armours fine
Well lunche,[a] and him liftet syne[b]
Something fra the erde[c] with pith;
And als, right manful virtue with,
Openly, before them all,
He gave the Welles a great fall,
And had him haillyd at his will,
Whatever he wald have done him til.

"The King, in his summer castelle
That all this journey[e] seen had well,
Said, 'Lyndysay, cousin, good Lyndysay!
Do furth that thou should do this day.'
As to be said, Do furth thy debe,
There shall na man here mak thee let.'
But the Lyndysay nevertheless,
That in his deed all courteous was,
Said to them that stood him by,
'Help, help now, for courtesy!'
The Welles he took than be the hand,
That on the green was there lyand,
'Rise, rise, Sir Knight, and stand on feet,'
He said, 'there should be done mair yet;
Yhit it is na time to leve.'
So held he Welles be the neve,[g]
That up he helped him to rise.

Sir Davy the Lyndysay on this wise
Fulfilled in London his journey
With honour and with honesty.
And to the Queen than of England
He gave this Welles in presand,[h]
Thus quite weanen all fredy;
And she then of that courtesy
Thanked him," &c.

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[a] Low.
[b] Afterwards.
[c] Earth.
[d] Wholly.
[e] Battle.
[f] Hinder thee.
[g] Hand.
[h] As a present.

"And sa he,
With honour and with honesty,
Retourit syne in his land hame,
Great worship eikid till his fame."

—"To this day," adds the Scotichronicon, "Sir David's knightly memory is held in the highest celebrity in England."*

To perpetuate the remembrance of his victory, and in gratitude to the martial Saint to whose favour he attributed it, Sir David founded a chantry of five priests, or vicars choral, "within Our Lady Kirk at Dundee," to sing hymns to the dragon-queller's praise for ever.†

Two years after this English visit, Sir David nearly lost his life in a conflict of a very different description. Scotland, though enjoying external quiet for some years after the battle of Otterburn, remained internally as much harassed as ever, for private feuds burst out, and the Northern districts in particular exhibited a scene of continued ravage and desolation. Wyntown, as usual, gives us the fullest and most authentic account of this misadventure.

bitterly, "No wonder the Scots now excel all others in courage, since they have some of the blood of our English nobles, when Scotland was occupied by our arms some years since." To which Sir David replied gaily, "Beware, lest, in thus reproaching us, you confess yourselves the offspring of monks and father confessors, or at least of clowns and ploughmen, who, at the time that the English nobles (as ye allege) were becoming our ancestors, took advantage of their absence to become yours!"

* He describes him as "valens miles, et in omni probitate bellicâ quamplurimum commendatus."—For further details of this expedition, see the *Scotichronicon*, tom. ii. p. 422; *Boethius*, fol. 335,—and Bellenden's *Translation*, tom. ii. p. 470.

Sir William Dalyell's encounter with Sir Piers Courtenay, as related in the Scotichronicon, will be found in the eighth note to the first Canto of Marmion, or in Tytler's History, *loco cit.*

The last victory that graced the Scottish expedition has never, that I am aware, been related in English. During the contests of the nobles, great contentions had arisen among their followers, "ilk man contending to decore his awin nation with maist loving." At last a certain Englishman challenged one Donald, a Scottish mountaineer, and "magister equitum," or principal groom, to Sir David, to fight with him in single combat, each man standing on his cloak, and without any other weapon, offensive or defensive, than his sword. The King and nobility sanctioning the proposal, Donald chose the "Forum Londinense," (I suppose, Guildhall,) for the place of combat; the Englishman fixed the day; and at the appointed hour and place Donald made his appearance, spread out his cloak, and took his station upon it,—but when the Englishman saw him looking so brisk and bloody-minded, his heart failed him, and he refused the combat. *Boethius.*

† *Boethius*, and Bellenden's *Translation.*

"A thousand three hundre ninety and two
Fra Christ was born of Maria,
There fell a high great discord
Betwene Sir Dauïd the Lyndesay, Lord
Of Glenesk, and the Highlandmen.
Three chieftains great were of them then,
Thomas, Patrick, and Gibbon,—
Duncansons wes their surnoun."

A day had been appointed for conference, with the view of composing this "discord," but the Duncansons did not keep the tryste, and a spy sent up the country by Sir David never reappearing, he heard nothing more till tidings arrived of there having

"come down all suddenly
Of Scotis a great company,"*

three hundred or more in number, who were ravaging Glenisla, the North-west of Angus. Duncan Stewart, natural son of the notorious Alexander Earl of Buchan, the Wolf of Badenoch, and who emulated the atrocities of his father, accompanied them. Sir Walter Ogilvie of Auchterhouse, Sheriff of Angus,

"that good knight,
Stout and manful, bauld and wight,"†

was then at Kettins, and Sir Patrick Gray not far off; they marched to attack the invaders, and were followed by Sir David of Glenesk from Dunslee, with a few of his people, who augmented their force to about sixty men, and with this handful they encountered the enemy. The battle was fought at Glenbrerith, probably Glenbrierachan, about eleven miles North of Gasklune, with great obstinacy, but the issue was unfortunate for the Lindsays and Ogilvies. The Sheriff, with many of his clan, and his uterine brother, Leighton of Ulishaven, were slain. Sir David, armed at all points, and on horseback, made great slaughter among the cataraus, but having pierced one of them with his lance, and pinned him to the ground, the dying warrior writhed his body upwards on the spear, and, collecting all his force, with a last dying effort, fetched a sweeping blow with

* The epithet "Scots" is here still restricted to the native Celtic race, long after a more comprehensive signification had been assigned to it by the letter to Pope John in 1320.

† Ancestor of all the branches of the noble House of Ogilvie.

his broadsword, which cut through the knight's stirrup-leather and steel-boot,

"Three ply or four above the foot,"

to the very bone,—

"That man na straik gave but that ane,
For there he deit; yet nevertheless
That guid Lord there wounded wes,
And had deit there that day
Had not his men had him away,
Agane his will, out of that press." *

Duncan Stewart was soon afterwards captured by Sir James of Crawford, still, I believe, the High Justiciary of Scotland—"and all his complices punist for their conspiration." †

Three years afterwards Sir James had another and a more pressing summons to the North. His wife, Margaret Keith,

* Wyntown, *Cronykyl*, tom. ii. p. 367.—He describes Sir David's onset with much vigour:—

"While they were in that press fechtand,[a]
The Lyndesay guid wes at their hand,
And of tha Scottis here and there
Some he slew, some woundit sair.
Sa, on his horse he sittand than
Through the body he strak a man
With his spear down to the erde;
That man hald fast his awin sword
Intil his nere,[b] and up thrawand[c]
He pressit him, nocht-agane-standand[d]
That he wes possit to the erde;
And with a swake[e] there of his sword,
Through the stirrup-leather and the boot,
Three ply or four above the foot,
He straik the Lyndesay to the bane.
That man na straik gave but that ane," &c.

† *Boeth.*, fol. 335, and *Bellenden*, tom. ii. p. 469.—Possibly this feud between Sir David and the Highlanders may be accounted for by the following consideration,—that Robert de Atholia, son of Duncan the Fat, the heir-male of the ancient Earls of Athol, and chief of the Clan Donachie, or, as they are now termed, Robertsons, (Skene's *Highlanders*, tom. ii. p. 141,) had married a daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Stirling of Glenesk—a sister consequently of Catherine, the mother of Sir David. She bore him only a daughter, whose marriage carried the property inherited from the Stirlings into the family of Menzies. Robert married a second time, and had issue the three chieftains mentioned in the text, of whom Duncan became the ancestor of the Robertsons of Struan. Undefined claims and supposed rights might well have occasioned the foray in question.

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[a] Fighting. [b] Hand. [c] Writhing up. [d] Notwithstanding. [e] Sudden and hasty stroke.

daughter of Sir William Keith, Marischal of Scotland, and heiress of Fermartine, or Fyvie, in Aberdeenshire,

"a guid Ladȳ,
That led in all her time guid life,"*

had been employing some masons at her castle of Fyvie, with whom the followers of her nephew, Robert de Keith,

"a mighty man
Be lineage, and apparent than
For to be a Lord of micht,"

quarrelled. The discourteous chief took up the matter so warmly as to besiege his aunt in her own castle,—she held it out, and sent notice to her husband, who was then at court. He started immediately, with four hundred men, to relieve his wife, but was intercepted by Keith near the Kirk of Bourtie, in the Garioch, where Sir James utterly defeated him, and with the loss of above fifty of his followers:—

"Sa Robert quite
Wes in that bargain † discomfyte;
Fra then he passed nocht till Fivȳ,
For til assiege that guid Ladȳ."‡

The last great feud that at this period prevailed in the North, that between the Clan Chattan and Clan Kay, was soon afterwards brought to a settlement by Sir James and the Earl of Moray§ in the manner familiar to every one since the publication of the 'Fair Maid of Perth.' After this conflict quiet was restored to the Highlands, and Scotland enjoyed tranquillity for many years, the truce with England being constantly renewed, and intercourse between the two countries encouraged as much as possible.

Sir James died shortly afterwards, in 1397, without male issue,

* "Domina Margareta de Lyndesay, sponsa quondam Domini Jacobi de Lyndesay," is mentioned in the 'Chamberlain Rolls,' in 1398, tom. ii. p. 364, and subsequently till 1403, p. 565,—and Sir James's charter of lands in Fermartine to his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Preston, 1390-1397, (*supra*, p. 51,) is witnessed by "carissimo patre nostro, Domino Willielmo Keith, Mariscallo, et Roberto Keith, fratre nostro."

† Combat.

‡ *Wyntoun*, tom. ii. p. 371.

§ *Boethius*, fol. 333; *Scotichronicon*, tom. ii. p. 420; *Buchanan*, lib. x.; *Tytler*, tom. iii. p. 76.

and the chiefship of the Lindsays, together with the barony of Crawford and the other entailed estates and revenues, devolved on his cousin-german, Sir David of Glenesk,—while the Lordship of Fermartine, or Fyvie, and other unentailed properties, were divided between his daughters, Margaret and Euphemia, respectively married to Sir Thomas Colville and Sir John Herries of Terregles.* He left a more enduring memorial in a convent of Mathurine, Robertine, Red, or Trinity Friars, founded by him at Dundee in 1392, for the ransom of Christian captives from Turkish slavery, and which gradually assumed the character of an hospital, in which decayed burghers of Dundee resided till about seventy years ago.†

On the 21st of April, 1398, the year after Sir James's death, his successor Sir David was created Earl of Crawford, by solemn belting and investiture, in the parliament held at Perth that year,‡—the Earldom of Crawford being the third created since the extinction of the Celtic dynasty, that of Douglas having been the second, and that of Moray the first.§ And this creation was

* See the Appendix, No. I., Head V., iv.

† "The Hospital of Dundee was founded several centuries ago by the Earl of Crawford," (Sir James Lindsay,) "who bequeathed for the maintenance of the poor citizens of Dundee certain buildings upon the site of the old academy at the foot of South Tay Street, and some yearly rents to be used in maintaining them as a poor-house, or Maison-dieu. This establishment was afterwards augmented by bequests and donations from other individuals; and Queen Mary, in 1567, granted to the Hospital of Dundee the lands, tenements, &c., belonging to the Dominican and Franciscan friars, and Grey Sisters, consisting of the present burying-ground and monastic buildings to the South, Serreshaugh, or Manorgan's-Croft, now Hospital-ward, part of the present meadows and adjoining ground. From certain old records it would appear that the lands and revenues of the hospital were once much more extensive and valuable than now. It is not above seventy years since decayed burgesses resided in the Hospital. The minister of the Cross Church officiated to the establishment; and he still receives part of his stipend from the funds of the institution. It has since been found more wise to distribute the funds to persons residing in their own houses." *Stat. Account*, tom. i. p. 51.—"Sometimes," says Mr. Threshie, "as much as £500 were paid to decayed burgesses. The ground on the South side of the Nethergate, extending from the Catholic chapel Eastward to the Sea-wynd, is said to have belonged to the friars." *Hist. of Dundee*, p. 326.—Robert III. dissolved the connection of the church of Ketnes or Kettins from the Maturine convent of Berwick, and annexed it to Sir James Lindsay's foundation at Dundee by a charter cited in Robertson's *Index*, p. 152. He is the only benefactor, except Sir James, on record.

‡ *Scotichronicon*, tom. ii. p. 422; Wyntown's *Cronykyl*, tom. ii. p. 381,—and for other relative authorities see Mr. Riddell's *Crawford Case*, pp. 2 sqq.

§ Notwithstanding the great merits of the patriots who struggled for the inde-

accompanied by a regrant of the principal fief of Crawford, "with a regality," or, as it was technically phrased, "cum quatuor punctis coronæ," conveying privileges to him and his posterity analogous to those enjoyed by the Earls Palatine of England and the continent.*

Earl David had married some years before the Princess Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of Robert II.,—her dowry was the barony of Strathnairn in Invernessshire.† I do not know whether this was accompanied by the Sheriffship of Banff, of which he gave charters to Thomas Earl of Moray.‡

Brave, courteous, and accomplished, he passed through life honourably to himself and his name.

One of his repartees on a very interesting occasion has been preserved by Wyntown. At a march-meeting at Haldanestank, to which he and his cousin Sir William of the Byres had been deputed commissioners, to meet John of Gaunt and other English nobles, to prolong the truce and regulate the jurisdiction of the borders, he happened to observe that Harry Percy was sheathed in complete armour, notwithstanding the peaceable character of the conference. "It is for fear of the English horsemen," said Hotspur in explanation, for he was already meditating the insurrection immortalised by Shakspeare. "Ah, Sir Harry!" rejoined Sir David, in allusion to the night of Otterburn, "I have seen

pendence of Scotland under Robert Bruce, he only advanced one of them to the dignity of Earl, to wit, Randolph Earl of Moray,—only one other Earldom, that of Dodglas, was conferred during the reign of David II., "and so high a value was then put upon the dignity, that, the branches of the royal family excepted, and some confirmations of new families to old dignities, there was but one other family" (that of Lindsay) "advanced to it before the reign of King James II., who made several creations, though not vested with the same powers." *Dignity of the Scottish Peerage Vindicated*, 1719, p. 16.

* Robertson's *Index*, p. 141,—"It was therefore (as well as from other proof) not by the more frequent form of erecting the principal fief, *dominium*, or *baronia* of the family, or their whole estates, into a *comitatus*, that the Earldom of Crawford was constituted, seeing that their principal fief of Crawford still then continued, as it besides did afterwards, to be merely a barony." *Crawford Case*, p. 4,—and see the paragraphs following, concerning the ancient connection of titles with land.

† Her name is stated to have been Elizabeth in most of the ancient genealogies. In consequence of this alliance, Earl David is constantly styled the King's "son" and "brother" in the charters of Robert II. and Robert III.

‡ Robertson's *Index*, p. 142.

you more sorely bestad by Scottish footmen than by English horse!"*

He was no less sage in counsel than ready in reply, and the records are full of the safe-conducts granted to him as charged with negotiations by his sovereign.† Sometimes indeed he sought for adventure and honour in the foreign wars. Between a visit to England in October, 1398, and the 29th of December, 1404, the date of his safe-conduct for entering England with one hundred persons, horse and foot, in his train, and passing through to Scotland, his name is not once mentioned in the Rotuli, and it is merely from foreign sources that we learn that he gave a letter of service and homage, under his seal of arms, to Louis Duke of Orleans, on the 1st of January, 1401-2,‡ and that in May that year he was hovering with a fleet on the coast of Coruna in Spain, probably as a partisan of France.§ It was through this

* *Wyntown*, tom. ii. p. 377; *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, tom. i. p. 75.—The original passage is as follows:—

"Sir Henry the Percy young at right,
Was armit all over in harny bright;[a]
Sir Davy Lord than de Lyndesay
Said til him courteously that day,
'Sir Henry, what makes you to be
So weirlike[b] as you now we see?'
Til him than answerit the Percy,
'I will that you wist, Sir Davy,
Of Scottismen I dreid na forse;
But this I do for English horse.'
Than said the Lyndesay, Sir Davy,
'Thou kens right weill yat, Sir Henry,
That oft has Scottismen with their force
Thee saiver gedrit than English horse!'"

—Sir David's safe-conduct for this meeting at "Hawdenstank" is dated 22nd Sept. 1398. *Rot. Scot.*, tom. ii. p. 142.

† See the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, passim.

‡ *Inventory of Documents in the Archives of France, Abbotsford Club*, p. 34.—The "lettre" of service is without any exception save his duty to the King of Scotland and his eldest son. Louis Duke of Orleans was at this moment strengthening himself in every way for his contest with the Duke of Burgundy for the Governorship and Lieutenancy of France.

§ He was at Corunna, in company with "le Sire de Hely, Messire Rasse de Renty, et plusieurs autres avec leur armée," when the celebrated Norman adventurer, Jean de Bethencourt, touched there on his voyage of discovery to the Canaries. I quote from 'L'Histoire de la première Découverte et Conqueste des Canaries,' &c., written by Bontier, a Franciscan friar, and Jean le Verier, a priest, domestics of Bethencourt:—"Si descendit Monseigneur de Bethencourt à terre, et alla à la ville où il avoit à besongner, et trouva qu'ils défaisoient une nef de plusieurs habillemens

[a] Furnished armour. [b] Warlike.

absence that he probably escaped death or capture at the disastrous battle of Homildon, and the pain of personal presence during the investigations that followed upon the murder of the unhappy Duke of Rothesay, the eldest son of King Robert III., and who had been appointed Governor of the kingdom, on the resignation of his uncle the Duke of Albany, at the Scottish parliament held in January, 1398. Rothesay was of a wild and thoughtless disposition, little qualified for such a charge, and had alienated the affections of all whom he ought to have courted and conciliated. He had been affianced to his cousin, the beautiful Euphemia de Lindsay, sister of Sir William of Rossie and of Earl David,—he slighted her for Elizabeth Dunbar,* and her again

qu'ils avoient prinse, nous ne sçavons sur qui. Quand Bethencourt vid cela, il pria le Conte qu'il peust prendre de la nef aucunes choses qui leur estoient necessaires, et le Conte luy octroya, et Bethencourt s'en alla en la nef, et fit prendre une ancre et un batel, et les fit amener à sa nef. Mais quand le Seigneur de Hely et ses compagnons le sceurent, ils n'en furent mie contens, et leur en despleut: et vint Monsire Rasse de Reuty vers eux, et leur dit, qu'il ne plaisoit mie au Sire de Hely qu'ils eussent le batel ni l'ancre. Bethencourt leur respondit que c'estoit par la voluntè du Conte de Craforde, et qu'ils ne le rendroyent point. Ouye leur response, le Sire de Hely vint vers Monseigneur de Bethencourt, et luy dist qu'il ramenast ou fist ramener ce qu'ils avoient prins de leur nef, et il luy respondit qu'il l'avoit fait par le congé du Conte. Si y eut de grosses paroles assez. Quand M. de Bethencourt vid cela, il dit au Sieur de Hely, 'Prenez batel et ancre de par Dieu, et vous en allez.' 'Puis qu'il vous plaist,' respondit le Sire de Hely, 'ce ne feray-je mie, ainchois les y feray mener aujourd'huy, ou j'y pourvoyray autrement.' Respondit le dit Bethencourt et Gadifer, 'Prenez les, si vous voulez, car nous avons autre chose à faire.' Le dit Bethencourt estoit sur son partir et vouloit lever les ancres et sy tirer hors du fost, et incontinent se partit. Quand ils virent cela, ils armerent une galiote, et vindrent apres le dit Bethencourt, mais ils n'approcherent point plus près, fors qu'on parla à eux, et y eut assez de paroles qui trop longues seroyent à raconter. Ils n'eurent onc autre chose, ne autre response, que ainsi la premiere estoit, et s'en retournerent à tant."—Pp. 7, 8, 9.—Earl David's courtesy to Bethencourt is quite in character.—This passage and the character of his employment may receive illustration from a statement in the 'Histoire de Charles VI.' by Jean Juvenal des Ursins, Archbishop of Rheims, p. 151, *edit.* 1653:—"1402. Les Anglois equipperent des vaisseaux sur mer, et mirent gens dedans, qui faisoient maux infinis sur mer, et specialement grevoient fort les Isles estans en la mer, obeissans au Roy de France. Les François se mirent sus és marches estans sur la mer, obeissans au Roy de France, et firent tant de diligence, que souvent trouvoient les Anglois sur mer et les assailloient, et aussi les Anglois se defendoient le mieux qu'ils pouvoient. Toutefois les François plusieurs petites victoires eurent aucunement sur leurs ennemis, et tellement qu'ils ne s'adventurerent plus d'aussi legier sur mer."

* "Sciat et filiam Comitis Marchiæ, sic eandem repudiavit," are Bower's words. *Scotichronicon*, tom. ii. p. 432.—But these must be connected with what he says previously, at page 428.

for Marjory Douglas,—the consequence was the deadly enmity of the Earl of March and of Sir William; and more recently he had offended his father-in-law, the Earl of Douglas, by personal affronts and neglect of his daughter, and disgusted one of his own immediate followers, Sir William Ramorgny, a man of polished manners and revengeful heart, who proved a ready tool in the hands of Albany for his destruction. Influenced by his brother, King Robert consented to suspend Rothesay from his office of Governor,—the Bishop of St. Andrews having just died, Sir William and Ramorgny suggested to the Prince that he should ride to St. Andrews and keep the castle for the King's interest; he set off with a small train, but was intercepted by them, and conveyed a prisoner to the castle, till Albany should determine what further steps should be taken. Albany and Douglas presently arrived, and transported the unfortunate Prince to Falkland, where, as was commonly reported, he was starved to death. Albany was generally considered the murderer, nor did his acquittal by a tribunal to whose judgment he voluntarily submitted himself diminish the general impression of his guilt.*

* *Scotichronicon, ut supra.*—"Willielmus de Lindsay, de Ersey, miles," was living 16 Oct. and 20 Feb. 1423, the dates of charters in the Haigh Muniment-room by which he resigns to his superior lord, Alexander Earl of Crawford, the lands of the Halton of Inverurity, co. Forfar, and receives from the Earl the lands of Dunbeig and others in the barony of Balinbreich, Fife.—"Dominus Willielmus de Lindsay" and "Domina Matilda," his wife, were living in 1434, when the latter, described as the spouse of the former, received £10 "ex concessione Regis," *Chamberlain Rolls*, tom. iii. p. 211,—and which £10 appears subsequently, p. 560, to have been an annuity, which she still draws in 1452.—Sir William and Lady Matilda had a son, Mr. James Lindsay, a priest, appointed to the parsonage of Douglas by William Earl of Douglas, and by collation of John Bishop of Glasgow, 12 June, 1443 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*)—to a Canonry in the Collegiate Church of Bothwell, by presentation of William Earl of Douglas, who calls him "consanguineus noster," 4 Oct. 1447 (*Regist. Episc. Glasg.*, tom. ii. p. 366)*—and finally, in or about 1476, to the post of Dean of the Cathedral of Glasgow, in which capacity he figures till his death in 1487 (*Obitus*, 17 May, 1487, *ibid.*, p. 615).—He founded the chaplainry of St. Stephen and St. Lawrence in the Cathedral of Glasgow, for the souls "quondam Willielmi Lyndesai patris sui et Domine Mathildis Stewart matris eor," 1 April, 1486. (*Ibid.*, p. 490.)—His arms, as borne on his seal, are the simple fesse-chequée, with a star in chief on the dexter side, and two lions as supporters, precisely those borne by Sir Alexander Lindsay of Glenesk, father of the first Earl of Crawford,—inducing the inference that he was a descendant of Sir Alexander,

* Mr. James Lindsay, Canon of Glasgow and Secretary to William Earl of Douglas, is witness to a charter dated 6 Aug. 1447, and confirmed 1450, in the Great Seal Register.

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Rothesay's death was followed by a renewal of hostilities with England—the rout at Homildon—and the capture of James, the surviving heir of King Robert, by the English. Robert, dreading the ambition of Albany, which had already proved so fatal to his eldest son, determined on preserving the younger from a similar fate by a foreign education. France, the ancient ally of Scotland, was chosen for his residence. Albany discovered the design, and it was probably at his instigation that an English vessel waylaid and captured the young Prince on his voyage and carried him to London, where, in violation of a truce then subsisting between the two nations, he was confined a prisoner in the Tower. It then became Albany's policy to throw every obstacle in the way of his nephew's release, in order that he himself might retain the almost regal authority he had long possessed; and the poor old King dying of a broken heart in April, 1406, on hearing

through his father Sir William Lindsay—thus to be presumed identical with the knight of Rossie—and Lady Matilda Stewart. I do not know the filiation of Lady Matilda, but should conjecture, from the fact of the royal annuity above mentioned, that she was a daughter, legitimate or illegitimate, of the royal House.—Walter de Lindsay of Rossy, who flourished in 1445, and concerning whom *vide supra*, p. 51, was probably the eldest son of this marriage, and elder brother of the Dean of Glasgow. Walter may probably have been the father of another church dignitary, "Magister Willielmus Lindsay," prebendary of Dunkeld, parson of Inchmachuach, and vicar of Newtyle, described as "domus Rossie in Fyff primogenitus" in the dedication of the 'Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld,' by Alex. Myln. He had been promoted under Bishop George, who ruled the see between 1484 and 1515.[b]—Much obscurity still rests on the succession of the House of Rossie and its connection with that of Dowhill, which is stated (*vide supra*, p. 51) to have descended from Sir William of Rossie. The earliest ascertained Dowhill ancestor is William Lindsay of Logie, who flourished at the close of the fourteenth century, and held Cramberh, now Dowhill, through Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Agnes de Cramberh and Sir James de Valoniis. Rossie had been the property of the Valloines family before it came to the Lindsays, and it is hence inferred that William of Logie and Sir William of Rossie were identical. The evidence is not perhaps conclusive, but the legitimate and near propinquity of the House of Dowhill is established by their being called as heirs in the Crawford entail of 1541.

[a] Mr. James Lindsay, Canon and Dean of Glasgow, must be distinguished from his contemporary, Mr. James Lindsay, Provost of Lincluden, of whom I shall speak hereafter.

[b] Contemporary, and even possibly identical, with this William Lindsay, lived an "honorabilis vir, Dominus Guillelmus Lyndesay, super Prior prioratus loci de Restenet, Ordinis Sancti Augustini," as described in a notarial instrument dated 12 June, 1476, preserved among some ancient monuments of the Priory of Restenet at Glamis Castle, and of which I possess a transcript through the kindness of my friend W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq.—He may have succeeded William Forfar as Prior in 1474.

of his son's disaster, the Duke attained the object of his ambition, the sole and unfettered government of Scotland.

Earl David had returned to Scotland shortly before this event. He had a safe-conduct for visiting England on business connected with the preservation of the truce in December, 1406,* and would appear from this and other circumstances to have been as active and energetic as ever, but he seems, though still in the prime of life, to have felt a presentiment of approaching death, and to have prepared for a longer journey. He had mortified a sum of money to the Cathedral of Aberdeen for the souls of his parents and of the faithful dead, in 1400,† and endowed a chaplainry in the chapel of St. Beternan,‡ in the Cathedral of Brechin, in 1405, to celebrate divine offices for the souls of his father and mother, his grandfather, Sir John Stirling, and (as before) of the faithful dead,§—he now, in December, 1406, executed, with the concurrence of his eldest son, Alexander, a series of charters endowing the five priests in the parish-church of Dundee, already mentioned, to the honour of Our Lady of Victory and of St. George the Martyr, and founded an additional altar to the memory of All Saints in the same church, appointing two more chaplains to officiate at it.‖ He further made settlements of lands and annual

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, tom. ii. p. 181.

† *Regist. Episc. Aberdon.*, tom. i. p. 203.

‡ So in the charter, but the Saint in question is unknown to hagiologists. "There occurs a St. Berchan, Bishop and Confessor, on April 8, and a St. Berethun, Abbot and Confessor, on May 15, in the old Scottish Calendar. We are much at a loss as regards the pious men of early Scottish history, especially in the North. For example, Saints Brioch and Skeoch, or Skaa, of whom nothing is known, are intimately connected with the county of Forfar." *Information from W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq.*—Another Forfarshire Saint, held in especial reverence in Glenesk, was St. Drostan Abbot, the nephew of St. Columba, who withdrew from the rule of the celebrated Abbey of Dalquongale in Ireland, "et in partibus Scocie se transtulit, ubi vitam heremiticam duxens, in loco qui dicitur Glenesk ecclesiam construxit." *Breviarium Aberdonense*, fol. xix.—His office is printed in the *Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, tom. ii. pp. 373, 374. *Information from Joseph Robertson Esq.*, whose further very interesting observations, tending to fix the ministry and church of St. Drostan at Edzell, will be found in the Appendix, No. X.

§ *Chamberlain Rolls*, tom. ii. p. 660.

‖ Robertson's *Index*, p. 161.—"Sir David, Earl of Crawford . . . endowed both the chantry and this altar with an annual stipend of forty merks, payable out of the Earl's Lodging," the town-residence of the family in Dundee. "The other endowments of the Choristers, separately from All Saints, were,—at the foundation of the choir, granted annually and for ever, for its support,—twelve marks from the

rents on his younger sons,—provided, with a father's tenderness, for his sister, the unfortunate Euphemia,*—and, in short, made ready, as a good Christian, for his summons before his Maker. It came at the expected hour, in February, 1407, when he died, as we may trust, in humble faith and resignation—though at the early age of forty-one—at his castle of Finlaven, and was buried in the family vault in the Grey-Friars' Church at Dundee.† Tradition indeed has forgotten this, and points to the remains of Tower Lindsay at the Castle of Crawford—the original keep of the fortress, but now crumbled down into a vast tumulus, all over green—as Earl David's grave.

He left four sons—Alexander, his successor, David of Newdosk, Gerard, and Ingelram, Bishop of Aberdeen, of whom I shall speak hereafter,‡—and three daughters, the eldest, Lady Margaret, married to her cousin-german Archibald fifth Earl of Douglas and Duke of Touraine, "with sic pomp and triumph," says Pitscottie, "that never the like was seen at no man's marriage,"§—the second, Lady Marjory, to Sir William Douglas of Lochleven, to whom she bore the heroic Catherine Douglas and

barony of Invernrity, twelve from that of Meigle, twelve from Megginch, twelve from Downie, each conferred by a separate charter, and each separately confirmed by Robert Duke of Albany, Regent, at Perth, on the same day, 24 Feb. 1406. Besides these, they had revenues amounting to £83. 2s. 11d., which were drawn out of the profits of certain houses and properties, situated at different places in the town and elsewhere. The gross income of the choir, including the moiety of the forty merks, was £123. 9s. 7d., averaging to each chorister £15. 12s. 8d." Thomson's *Hist. of Dundee*, p. 286.

* Robertson's *Index*, p. 166.—The charter is there said to be granted by Alexander Earl of Crawford, but as the preceding charter, by which Patrick Graham Earl of Strathern and Euphemia his wife grant her an annuity, is dated 6 Dec. 1406, I suspect that it is by mistake for Earl David. These two charters are followed by a third grant to her by Sir William of Rosie.

† *MS. Genealogy*, 1628, in the Haigh Muniment-room; Sir James Balfour's *MSS.*, Adv. Library, Edinburgh.

‡ Strict proof of Ingelram's filiation is wanting. His close connection with the Crawford family is attested both by his biographer Boethius and by his foundation of an obitus for the soul of David third Earl of Crawford, slain at Arbroath in 1445-6. I should have supposed him younger brother of that Earl, but it is hardly possible, as he was an old man and infirm in 1440. I therefore conclude him provisionally among the younger children of Earl David.

§ *Chron. Lindsay of Pitscottie*, vol. i. p. 17.—Her name is usually given as Matilda, but there is an entry in an Exchequer Roll of a payment out of the lordship of Buchan "Margarete de Lindsay, Comitisse de Douglas." *Information from Mr. Riddell.*—The names Margaret, Marion, Marjory, Matilda, &c., were indeed constantly interchanged in those days, like Isabella and Elizabeth.

the ancestor of the Earls of Morton,—and the third, Elizabeth, to Sir Robert Keith, Marischal of Scotland.*

I do not know that I can conclude this notice more appropriately than by subjoining the solitary specimen of Earl David's correspondence now surviving—a letter addressed by him to Henry IV. of England, in February, 1405, on the occasion of a merchantship of St. Andrews having been seized and confiscated by the English, in violation of the truce. The style is that rather of a sovereign prince than a simple subject, and its tone of graceful courtesy is quite in keeping with Earl David's historical character:—

"*A très excellent et très puissant Henry, par la grace Dieu, Roy de Engleterre.*†

"Excellent et très puissant Prince!

"Je me recoñande à vostre tres-haut noblesse tant coñe je puis, en desirant savoir boñes nouvelles de vous et de vostre noble estat, lequel nostre Seigneur veulle mainteñir coñe vous voudries et coñe je le desire!

"Très noble Prince! plaise vous assavoir que j'ay entendu par les marchans de la ville de Sanct Andreu que vne neff de Flandres venant devers Escoce, chargé de marchandise et des biens de ces mesmes marchans de la ville de Sanct Andreu, ont esté prins par escumeurs‡ d'Engleterre estans en vne armée barge, qu'est appellée la Barge de Calace, sur le rivage d'Escoce, et amenés en

* I do not know whether it was one of these three daughters, or a fourth, who is the subject of a curious bond of friendship between "Sir David, Earl of Crawford," and "Sir Thomas of Erskine, Lord of that Ilk," dated at Brechin, 20th Dec. 1400, and by which, on the understanding that Sir Robert Erskine, eldest son of Sir Thomas, is to marry Earl David's daughter, Sir Thomas, on the one hand, forgives Earl David six hundred out of twelve hundred marks, which was to be the lady's dowry, and Earl David on the other obliges himself, after the decease of Isabelle Countess of Mar, to support Sir Thomas and Dame Jean his wife with all his power and might in the recovery of the lands of Mar and Garioch—in other words, of the Earldom of Marr, from which, their rightful inheritance, the Erskines were so long arbitrarily excluded. *Inventory of the Mar Writs*, MS. p. 218.—Sir Thomas Erskine (already mentioned *supra*, p. 75) was the son of Beatrice de Lindsay, sister of Sir David of Crawford; Sir Robert and Earl David's daughter must therefore have been second-cousins once removed, the lady being of the generation junior to that of her proposed husband.

† I give this letter in the original orthography.

‡ Pirates—skimmers of the sea.

Engleterre au port de Halyelandꝫ et là ont fait distribuc̃on de partie des diz marchandise, coĩe Jehan Ras, porteur de cez presentes, et ses compaignons, marchans de la ville de Sanct Andreu, à vostre tres-haut noblesse plain à plain saueront raconter. Et pour ce, très excellent Prince! je vous requer, que puisque teillx* choses sont attemptées encontre la vertu des treuex ja pieça† prins, et aussi que les dis marchans et ville de Sanct Andreu m'apartenynt, qu'il plaise à vostre très noble Seigneurie de faire faire restorac̃on des diz biens au devant diz marchans, là où il porront estre trouvés dedans vostre roiaume ou seigneuries, lesquelx deurées et marchandises sont estimés et soñées par loialx marchans à la value de mille libres.

"Très excellent Prince, li Sanct Esprit vous ayt en sainte garde, et vous donne haver‡ et bon fin! Et s'il y a chose és parties par deça que je peusse faire à vostre très noble plesance, coñandez le moy et je le feray très volentiers et de cuer.

"Escript à Dondè, le second jour de Januer.

"Vostre simple cousin,

"DAVID LYNDESSAY, CONTE DE CRAUFFURDE."§

* Telles. † Now for some time.

‡ "Havre," I suppose—equivalent to "Bring you into port," a nautical metaphor not inappropriate in sequence to the preceding paragraph.

§ This letter, and others, touching the same ship, from Robert III., the Duke of Albany, Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews and afterwards Cardinal, and Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, are bound up, miscellaneously with other very interesting Scottish correspondence, in a folio volume, preserved among the Cottonian MSS. (Vesp. F. vii. 48), in the British Museum. All these letters are written in Latin except those of Earl David and Sir David Fleming, the latter being in Scottish. I presume Sir David felt like the celebrated Earl of March, or Dunbar, who, in writing to Henry five years before, ends his letter thus, apologizingly:—"And, noble Prince! marvaile nocht that I write my lettres in English, for that ys mare clere to myne understanding than Latyne or Fraunche." Pinkerton, *Hist. Scotl.*, tom. i. p. 449.—It may be tracing the influence of race too narrowly, but one cannot but remember that George of Dunbar, the representative of the exile Cospatrick, was the noblest representative of the Saxon race—which in Cromwell's time signalized its emancipation by banishing Latin from our charters.—To return to Earl David's letter, it further illustrates the statement of Mr. Tytler, that in the fourteenth century "the Scottish nobles possessed companies of merchants, who speculated on their account and under their protection." *Hist. Scotl.*, tom. ii. p. 313,—so at least I interpret Earl's David's assertion, "que les dis marchans et ville de Sanct Andreu m'apartenynt."—The sum of £1000, at which the cargo was valued, and which is dwelt upon with emphasis in almost every one of the letters, was a very large one in those days.

CHAPTER IV.

"Lindsay's castle jutteth forth
On the wild, old, sounding sea,
And a gallant race of the hardy North,
As their mountains strong, as the billows free,
That monument of ancient worth
Through long long centuries have held,
Bequeathed unto the modern earth
By the great dim hands of eld."

ERNEST JONES.

If the fourteenth century be styled the chivalrous, the fifteenth and the sixteenth may be emphatically termed the feudal age of Scotland. A Robert Bruce, a Lord James of Douglas, a Sir Alexander Ramsay, an Earl David of Crawford, are characters which it is delightful to contemplate, shining like bright stars in the midnight arch of our country's history,—but they set one after another, and a race of rougher mould succeeded, an age of feudal barbarism; like the first hour before day-break, it was cold and chill,—

"The moon had gone down and the stars were few."

And this lasted (although there were bright exceptions, noble occasional outbreaks of national and knightly feeling) till the glorious day-spring,—ay, till the sun of the Reformation and of modern civilization had been long up in the heavens.

The period before us exhibits three distinct phases—acts in the great drama of Scottish feudality,—the struggle of the King and the Church against the great feudal aristocracy; the struggle of the King, the Church, and the great feudal aristocracy against the lesser and more numerous nobility, asserting popular rights and principles,—and, thirdly, the struggle of the King to make himself independent alike of Nobles, Church, or People—an absolute monarch. Outlines indeed like these—distinguishing the immutable laws and general tendencies of the development of

man from his individual and partial efforts, often to the retardment of that development—must ever be liable to exceptions; it is enough if we can discern a leading idea, a central principle, in each century, to which the particular events recorded bear nearer or remoter reference, and, apart from which, the history even of a private family must appear a maze without a plan in the map of Providence.

I must now attempt to give you some idea of the ordinary life of the Earls of Crawford in the fifteenth century, and generally during the times of feudalism.

Till the death of Sir James of Crawford, in 1397, the family had resided chiefly in Clydesdale; but Earl David, and Sir Alexander before him, had spent their lives in Angus, and that county became henceforward the home of their predilection. Their principal residence was at Finhaven, a castle built on a high bank or hill, overhanging the Lemno, and deriving its name "Fion-abhain," or the "White river," from the foam cast up by the rippling of the waters of that little stream at their confluence with the South-Esk, almost under the castle walls. The site is not striking, from elevation or otherwise; but a more favourable position in a military point of view could not have been chosen, the castle being situated at the entrance of the great valley of Strathmore, so as to command the whole of the Lowlands beneath the base of the Grampians; while, at the same time, it guards the passes of the Highlands through the neighbouring valleys of Glenisla, Glenprosen, and Glenclova.* Little now remains of the fortress save the keep, a lofty square tower of the fourteenth century, split asunder as by lightning and overgrown with ivy, and from the summit of which a view was obtainable till recently over the whole surrounding country,—but, judging by the graceful proportions and beautiful masonry of the fragment that remains, and the extent of ground enclosed within the fosse, Finhaven, when entire, must have been a most stately structure.† A noble Spanish chestnut, nearly forty-three feet in circumference, ornamented the court of the castle, and probably served as the "covin-tree," under which the stirrup-cup was drunk when guests

* *New Stat. Acc.*, tom. xi. p. 298.

† "It is distant in a North-Easterly direction, and on the new road to Brechin, about six miles from Forfar." Chambers' *Picture of Scotland*, tom. ii. p. 233.

departed on their journey. It was in full growth and vigour in the days of Earl David's great-grandson, commonly called "Earl Beardie," but a gillie, or messenger lad, sent on an errand from the Castle of Carriston to that of Finhaven, having cut a walking-stick from it, the Earl was so enraged that he hanged him on a branch of it,—such at least is the tradition, and from that moment the tree began to decay, though it was not till 1740 that the bitter frost of that year killed it, and for twenty years later it continued standing till a storm in 1760 finally levelled it with the ground. The ghost of the gillie has ever since constantly walked between Finhaven and Carriston, under the name of Jock Barefoot, getting credit for all the tricks and rogueries commonly attributed in England to Robin Goodfellow.* The church of Finhaven—rebuilt, as already mentioned, by Sir Alexander Lindsay immediately before his departure for Palestine—arose contiguous to the castle-walls,† and the neighbouring hamlets of Aberlemno and Tannadyce afforded accommodation to the families of the immediate retainers. Westward of the castle, a tract of primeval forest, chiefly of oak, styled the Barony of the Forest of Platane, extended for several miles—nominally the property of the Crown, but *de facto* of the Earls of Crawford, who held it as hereditary foresters,‡ and had a lodge, or residence, in the green-wood, the vestiges of which are still pointed out under the name of Lindsay's Hall.§ The forest has now entirely disappeared, but the tradition of the country bears that the wild cat could leap from tree to tree from the Castle of Finhaven to the hill of Kirriemuir.‖

* Information kindly furnished by the Rev. Harry Stuart of Oathlaw, or Finhaven.—This tree "was of the spreading kind," says Pennant; "the circumference near the ground was forty-two feet eight, of the top thirty-five feet nine, of one of the largest branches twenty-three feet." *Second Tour in Scotland, ap.* Pinkerton's *Coll.*, tom. iii. p. 436.—"When it was cut down, the late Mr. Skene of Carraldstone (Carriston) caused a table to be made of the wood of the tree . . . The table is now in the possession of the Earl of Aboyne (Marquess of Huntley) at Aboyne Castle. The roots of the tree are still to be seen in the court-yard of the castle." *New Stat. Acc.*, tom. xi. p. 294.

† Some vestiges of it remain at a place called Aikenfaulds. *Forfarshire Illustrated*, p. 122.

‡ By charter, with the barony of Fethmeryn, or Finhaven, granted by Robert II. to Sir Alexander Lindsay, in the fifth year of his reign. Robertson's *Index*, p. 129.

§ *Forfarshire Illustrated*, p. 124.

‖ *New Statistical Account*, tom. xi. p. 170.

At certain seasons—during the winter probably—this country residence was exchanged for the "Palatium Comitis," the "Earl's Palace," the "Great Lodging," or the "Earl's Lodging"*—as it is variously described in ancient records—in the provincial capital, Dundee,—a vast and antique edifice, part of which was still standing about sixty years ago, with the letters Lindesay embossed on the battlements; and which stood in what was formerly styled the "Flukergait"—now the Nethergate—West of the High Street or Market-place, occupying with its offices and "viridarium," or garden, the whole space between that street and the river.† A chapel, or oratory, dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, was attached to the palace,‡ and served for the daily devotions of the family; but on great church festivals, and on the anniversaries of their ancestors, when mass was celebrated for their souls at the altars founded by themselves or their children, they attended in the parish-church of St. Mary, still further Westward, and formerly denominated the "Kirk in the Fields," from its situation outside the town—and where Earl David had founded the chantries mentioned in the preceding chapter,§—or otherwise,

* The town-house of a nobleman was termed his "Lodging" in old Scotch.

† *Ancient charters in the Burgh Muniment-room, and others*: Chambers' *Gazetteer of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 232; Thomson's *Hist. of Dundee*, pp. 157, 317.—"It extended," says Mr. Thomson, "from Couttie's or Spalding's Wynd, on the East, as far West as the prolongation of the Dundee and Newtyle Railway. The house of the Messrs. Gray is built upon part of the site of this ancient mansion, and some fragments of an inscription, found formerly on the Earl's Lodging, are preserved in the offices of the modern building."—By the courtesy of Mr. Robert Gray, and through the intervention of my friend Mr. Martin Lindsay of Dundee, I am enabled to add, that Mr. Gray's father had a perfect remembrance of the South front or entrance of the Earl's Lodging, long before he became the possessor. It was entered by a gateway, over which there was a battlement or bartizan, along which was inscribed the legend, "David Lord Lindsay, Earl of Crawford."—"The only remnant of the building," adds Mr. Lindsay, "now remaining—in the Nether-gate, and called the 'Earl's Inn'—is a very rude piece of work, and in its aspect presents no feature either of strength or elegance; its present height is about forty feet, and the breadth the same,—the other side corresponds with this. It appears to have been the entrance to an inferior court."—It presents a façade, with a projecting semi-tower, the ground-story consisting of two vaulted apartments, and a vaulted passage of entrance by the door.—The Earl's Lodging ultimately, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, became the property of Catherine, widow of David ninth Earl of Crawford, by whom it was settled on her second son, John Lindsay of Balcarres.

‡ Thomson's *Hist. of Dundee*, p. 317,—and an ancient charter cited *infra*, Chap. VII. Sect. 1.

§ It was a noble building, built in the form of a Cathedral, with transepts, &c.

in that of the Franciscan convent, lying to the North of the town, commonly called "the Grey-friars,"—where generation after generation of the Earls of Crawford were finally laid to rest, and where their tombs were still to be seen, in Gothic magnificence, till the destruction both of convent and church at the Reformation.* Subsequently to that catastrophe, they were buried in St. Mary's.† Another religious foundation of the family, or one at least of which they possessed the patronage, the Chapel of St. Nicholas, crowned the rock named after that Saint at the mouth of the harbour of Dundee,—where they also reared a tower and

It was unfortunately burnt down in 1841, and nothing remains save the square steeple-tower. Thomson's *Hist. of Dundee*, p. 174.

* David, tenth Earl of Crawford, possessed himself of the greater part of the property of the monastery near Dundee, through an arrangement with the Abbot, at the time of the Reformation, as appears from his son David the eleventh Earl's petition to parliament, dated 1587, stating, "that by a charter of alienation of fewfers . . . John Fergusson, provincial of the Grey Friars of Dundee, with consent of the rest of the freirs of the said place, amalist (alienated) to his said umquhile father, David last Earl of Crawford, all and haill their yairds, tofts, crofts, and meadows, with their pertinents, liand on the North side of the said burgh, given to them of before be his (Earl David's) predecessors." *Acts Parl.*, fem. iii. p. 474.—In the Retour of David twelfth Earl of Crawford, 1594, in the Haigh Charter-room, the property thus obtained is described as lying "apud oppidum de Dundie, incipientibus ab orientali parte ejus communis amnis oppidi existit, et ab unne predicto extendentibus ad boream sicut communne pratum dicti oppidi dirigitur, versus terras Constabularii de Dundie," prout etiam fosso dictorum fratrum vocato Welzairdis tendenti ex parte occidentali ad montem vocatum Tentourhill et Hortum Spinarum,[a] et ab illis ad . . . . . Thome Mocorgane, et ab hinc prout ejusdem dictorum fratrum ab australi parte ad parietes appellatas Parpallis[b] jacentibus—ecclesie loco et cemeterio dictorum fratrum tantum exceptis,"—the site of the monastery and its cemetery, that is to say, which had been granted to the town by Queen Mary as a burial-ground,—it still remains so, and is now called the Howff. Thomson's *Hist. of Dundee*, p. 321.

† A precept of sasine proceeding on the resignation of George fourteenth Earl of Crawford in favour of Alexander second Lord Spynie, dated 1631, in the Haigh Muniment-room, conveys to him "solum et unicum privilegium et libertatem sepulchri in illâ parte ecclesiæ parochialis de Dundie, nunccupate antiquam ecclesiam de Dundee, ex adverso suggestum" (the credence-table), "ubi principale altare ex antiquo stetit."—This church was built by David Earl of Huntingdon, (the Sir Kenneth of the Talisman,) in fulfilment of a vow uttered during a storm on his return from Palestine,—the wind moderated, and the vessel arrived safely in the harbour of Dundee, where he fulfilled his vow by erecting this church. Thomson's *Hist. of Dundee*, p. 174.

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[a] Of Seymgeour of Dudhope, Constable of Dundee.

[b] The garden of thorns, always attached to a Franciscan convent, in memory of a legend of the founder of the order.

[b] "Parpall-wall, a partition-wall." *Jamieson.*

fortalice, which, with the possession of the craig, gave them the command of the port.* It was at this rock that David Earl of Huntingdon landed on his return from Palestine.†

The inner life of the family, especially at Finhaven, was of an

* In the enumeration of family property in a bond between the Earl and Master of Crawford, 9 Aug. 1546, there is specified "the Craig lyand within the flude-mark beside Dundee, with the fortalice and dunsion of the chaplainry of Sanct Nicholas fundat within the same." *Reg. Mag. Sig.* "When Earl David," the first of Crawford, says the author of the *Genealogy* of 1623, I cannot say with what correctness, "came home to Scotland, in memory of that honourable action," (the victory over Lord Welles,) "he caused build ane chapel upon ane craig at the mouth of the harbour of Dundee to the glory of God and to pray for his soul, and lotted lands for entertainment of monks for that effect." Its sanctity has long since been profaned, and "until a few years ago," says Mr. Thomson, "it was the site of the public slaughter-house." *Hist. Dundee*, p. 320.—"I remember the Craig Rock," says Mr. Martin Lindsay of Dundee,—"in my boyhood it used to be a feat to clamber up its rugged sides; this was before the changes on the Ferry landing-place; since then it is hidden from the public sight, but the South side is still to be seen from behind the house of the manager of the Ferry, which is still in the common parlance of the burghers called 'The Craig.' It seems to have been, like the many St. Michaels, an island rock at high tide."

† The following quaint description of Dundee from a very rare tract, a 'Description of the County of Angus,' written in 1678, and "translated from the original Latin of Robert Edward, Minister of Marrus," Dundee, 1793, will illustrate the preceding topographical details, and may amuse the reader:—"The town is divided into four principal streets, which we may suppose to represent a human body, stretched on its back, with its arms towards the West, and its thighs and legs towards the East. The steeple" (St. Mary's) "represents the head, with an enormous neck, rising upwards of eighteen stories into the clouds, and surrounded with two battlements or galleries, one in the middle, and another at the top, like a crown adorning the head; whose loud-sounding tongue daily calls the people to worship. The right hand is stretched forth to the pier; for there is a large and well-furnished hospital" (Sir James Lindsay's foundation) "on that side; but the left hand, because nearer to the heart, is more elevated towards heaven than the right, indicating a devout mind panting after celestial joys. In the inmost recesses of the breast stand the sacred temples of God. So remarkable were the people of this place for their adherence to true religion, that, at the Reformation, it was honoured with the appellation of a second Geneva. On the left breast is a Christian burying-place," (on the site of the Franciscan convent,) "richly and piously ornamented, that the pious dead may be long held in veneration and esteem. In the belly is the market-place; at the middle of which is the cross, like the navel in the body. Below the loins stand the shambles, very neat and convenient, having a hidden stream of fresh water, which (after wandering through the pleasant meadows on the left) runs under them; and which, having thus, as it were, secured the reins and intestines of the town, is afterwards discharged into the river. Here the thighs and legs are separated. The sea, approaching the right, invites to the trade and commerce of foreign countries; and the left limb, separated from the right a full step, points to home trade, in the Northern parts of the country." P. 21.

uniform but enjoyable character; martial exercises, the chase, and the baronial banquet, enlivened by the songs of the minstrel and the quips of the jester, occupied the day, and the evening was whiled away in "the playing of the chess, at the tables, in reading of romans, in singing and piping, in harping, and in other honest solaces of great pleasance and disport,"* — the ladies mingling in the scene throughout, whether in the sports and festivities of the morning or the pastimes of the evening—though a portion of the day was always spent in their "bowers," with their attendant maidens, spinning or weaving tapestry. Occasionally indeed a higher responsibility devolved upon them,—during the absence of the Earl, whether in attendance on the Parliament, or in warfare public or private, his wife became the châtelaine, or keeper of his castle, with full authority to rule his vassals, guide his affairs, and defend his stronghold if attacked at disadvantage during his absence,—and right well did she keep her trust, as we have already seen in the instance of Margaret Keith, Sir James Lindsay's wife, at Fyvie.†

The society of the castle consisted of the Earl and his immediate family—any guests that might be resident with him—the ladies attendant upon his wife and daughters—the pages, of noble or gentle birth, trained up in the castle under his eye as aspirants for chivalry—his own domestic officers, most of them gentlemen of quality, the chaplains, the secretary, chamberlain, chief marischal, "familiar squire," armour-bearer, the last of which offices

* Quoted from the contemporary account of the death of James I. in 1437. So too "Solace" in Sir David Lindsay's 'Satyre of the Three Estates':—

> "Sir, we shall mend our condition
> Sa ye give us remission;
> But give us leave to sing,
> To dance, to play at chess and tables,
> To read stories and merry fables,
> For pleasure of our king."

—*Works*, edit. Chalmers, tom. i. p. 466.

† "No importance comparable to this, no position equally calculated to call forth the human faculties, had fallen to the lot of woman before, nor, it may be added, since. And the fruits are seen in the many examples of heroic women which the feudal annals present to us, women who fully equalled, in every masculine virtue, the bravest of the men with whom they were associated,—often greatly surpassed them in prudence, and fell short of them only in ferocity." *Edinb. Rev.*, toge. lxxxii. p. 469.

was hereditary,* besides numerous attendant gentlemen, cadets generally of the younger branches of the family, who had attached themselves to him as "servitors," or feudal followers.

The property that supported this hospitality was extensive. The Earls of Crawford possessed above twenty great baronies and lordships, besides other lands of minor importance, in Forfarshire, Angus, Perthshire, the Mearns, Fife, Aberdeenshire, and the more distant sheriffdoms of Inverness, Banff, Lanark, Wigton, Dumfries, and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright†—those in Forfarshire alone extending over two-thirds of the county,—besides hereditary revenues from the Great Customs of Dundee, Montrose, Forfar, Crail, Aberdeen, and Banff, amounting to above three hundred marks annually, equivalent to two thousand pounds sterling in the present day.‡ Of these baronies some were

* In the family of Auchinleck of that Ilk, as I have been informed.—The names of these officers constantly occur as witnesses to the charters of the Earls,—those, e. g., of David Fotheringham, Auchinleck of that Ilk, and Stephen Lockhart of Todrick, as shield or armour bearers to David fifth Earl of Crawford,—Dr. James Dickson, Canon of Brechin, as his Chamberlain, in 1478, and Mr. Henry Barre, Rector of Collace, in 1487,—Dr. Thomas Lyon, as his chaplain; Dr. Alexander Scott and Mr. Gilbert Tyrie, rectors of Wigton and Lyne, his clerks, &c. &c.

† The baronies, namely, of Fishaven, the Forest of Plattane, Inverarity, Ferne, Glenesk, Clova, Kinblythemont, Guthrie, Ouris, Kirkhotho, and the thanedom of Downie, in Angus,*—those of Melgle, Balinblaich, Alyth, Baltrody, Pitfour, Melginch, Bothven, Lethes, and Carabothy, in Perthshire,—the thanedom and regality of Newdosk, in the Mearns,—the barony of Auchteralton, (including the lands of Tulynahilt, Tulybralock, and New-park, or Kelly,) in Aberdeenshire,—the baronies of Balinbreich and Cambo, and the lands of Auchtermoonzie, in Fife,—the barony of Strathnairn, in Invernesshire, and that of Crawford, in Lanarkshire, and the regality of Kirkmichael, in Dumfriesshire. *Extents of* 1421, 1474, 1546,—*and other documents in the Haigh Charter-room and elsewhere.* See *Minutes of Evidence in the Crawford Peerage Claim*, pp. 43, 124.—Other lordships, as those of Wigton, of Brechin, of Kinclevin, &c., were occasionally, for a time, in the possession of the Earls of Crawford, but I have not reckoned them in the above enumeration.

‡ To wit, one hundred marks from the Great Customs of Dundee, originally granted by Robert Bruce,—forty, from the Great Customs of Montrose, one hundred shillings "de firmis burgi de Crail," and as many from those of Forfar,—one hundred marks from the Great Customs of Aberdeen, and forty, "firmarum bur-

* The original charter of this thanedom to Sir Alexander of Glenesk in 1373 grants it "cum bondis, bondagiis, nativis, et earum sequelis,"—the free husbandmen, and the "natives," "thirlmen," or "serfs," attached to the property, with the chattels and posterity of the latter. Robertson's *Index*, p. 96.—The reader will find in the Appendix, No. XI., a very interesting letter from Joseph Robertson, Esq., on the import of the above terms in the charter of Downie, and similar early Scottish conveyances.

held in their own hands, others by the immediate cadets of the family, or by families of alien blood, not unfrequently of much older standing in the district, holding as vassals of the Earldom; all or most of them were fortified by strong castles,—and over those included in the family entails, as the "Comitatus," or "Earldom," of Crawford, the Earl possessed rights of regality, which ensured him, in the words of a recent historian, "at least as many of the privileges of an independent prince as a Margrave or Pfalzgrave. His courts were competent to try all questions, civil or criminal, that of high treason against the sovereign alone excepted. He appointed judges and executive officers, who had no responsibility to the imperial authority. He had within his territory a series of municipal systems, corporations with their municipal officers, privileged markets, harbours and mills, with internally administered regulations of police, applicable to weights and measures, fishing privileges, and other like useful institutions. He could build prisons and coin money. When any of his subjects were put on trial before the King's courts, he could 'repledge' the accused to his own court, only finding recognisances to execute justice in the matter." * He was thus a governor under the sovereign, and not a mere judge, like the sheriff,—while, that nothing should be wanting to the feudal power of the family, the Earls of Crawford acquired early in the fifteenth century the sheriffdom of Aberdeenshire in hereditary right,† and soon after the middle of the century that of Forfar-

galium,"—and thirteen, afterwards augmented to nineteen marks, from the borough of Banff. These were almost all acquired in the fourteenth century, Robertson's *Index*, pp. 52, 86, 117 *bis*, 122, 127 *bis*, 132, 133, 143,—and are still conveyed in the family entails as late as 1631. *Minutes of Evidence, &c.*, p. 372.

* Burton's *Lives of Simon Lord Lovat and Forbes of Culloden*, p. 162.—"An analogy," adds Mr. Burton, "will be seen between regalities and the palatinates created in England. The jealousy with which any dispersal of the privileges of the Crown among the great barons was watched in England brought back two of the three palatinates to the King at a very early period, while the third, being in the possession of a bishop, could not be the means of throwing any dangerous power into the hands of a particular House, and remained in existence till the year 1836." —"Although," observes Mr. Riddell, "we had, in fact, many palatinates, according to English notion, that is to say, fiefs invested with royal jurisdiction, yet the term was almost wholly unknown in Scotland. Only one Earldom, that of Strathern, was styled a palatinate; but what the peculiar nature of the distinction was does not appear."—*Remarks on Peerage Law*, p. 37.

† The original hereditary grant has not been discovered, but it would seem to have been bestowed on them towards the end of the fourteenth, or beginning of the fifteenth century, by Robert III. Sir Walter Lindsay was Sheriff of Aberdeenshire

shire,—as the Lindsays of the Byres, the most powerful cadet of the House, did that of Fifeshire, after a long struggle with the Leslies, in the following century.*

The Earldom of Crawford therefore, like those of Douglas, of Moray, Ross, March, and others of the earlier times of feudalism, formed a petty principality, an "imperium in imperio,"—the Earls affected a royal state, held their courts, had their heralds or pursuivants, and occasionally assumed the style of princes in the numeration of their ancestors and themselves, as David I., David II., Alexander I., Alexander II., of the name, Earls of Crawford, after a fashion more frequent on the Continent than in Britain.† They had also a "Concilium," or petty parliament, consisting of the great vassals of the Earldom, with whose advice they acted on great and important occasions,‡—these vassals were for the

in 1417, probably under Alexander Earl of Crawford, as the sheriffdom is conveyed in the entail of the Crawford estates executed by Earl Alexander in 1421. They held it (with the exception of a momentary interruption in 1452) till 1511, when John Earl of Crawford resigned it to William Earl of Errol, but only conditionally, reserving to his family the right of redemption. *Vide infra*, Chap. VI. Sect. II.—It was finally resigned by David Earl of Crawford, 3 March, 1540-1, in favour of George Earl of Huntley. *Reg. Mag. Sig., and information from Joseph Robertson, Esq.*—The nobles, in those days when power was everything, disdained no offices which gave them influence. We thus find David eleventh Earl of Crawford obtaining a charter of the hereditary office of Constable and Justiciary within the city of Brechin, 11 Sept. 1589.

* Patrick Lord Lindsay was Sheriff in 1517, (*Inquisition, Adv. Library,*) and in May, 1524, he obtained a grant of the office to himself, his son, and grandson, afterwards John Lord Lindsay, which was confirmed by Parliament, July, 1525. Sibbald's *Hist. Fife*, p. 259.—John Lord Lindsay obtained a new grant, 14 Dec. 1538, to himself and his heirs. (*Spalding Club Miscellany*, tom. ii. p. 189,) but the Leslies would not acquiesce in this,—in 1565, Randolph writes to England that "the Earl of Rothes and Lord Lindsay are at daily discord," (*Selections from unpublished MSS. in the College of Arms*, p. 129,)—and Knox describes them under the preceding year as having "contended now a long time for the heirship of Fife." *Hist. of the Kirk, &c., Works*, tom. ii. p. 493, edit. Laing.

† Ingelram de Lindsay, Bishop of Aberdeen, grants lands in 1454 for the soul of "David Lyndesay, Secundi, Comitis Craufurdie," *Collections, Hist. of Aberdeenshire*, tom. ii. p. 265.—But a much more curious instance, in which the Countesses are numbered as well as the Earls, may be cited, in a charter by which "Marjoria Secunda, alias Ogilvy, Comitissa Craufurdie," grants to the convent of the Franciscans of Dundee an annual rent of twenty marks, "pro salute animæ David Secundi, Comitis Craufurdie, sponsi nostri, &c., cum consensu et assensu prædilecti nostri David Tertii, Comitis Craufurdie," &c., 17 Nov. 1478, (*Reg. M. Sig.*)—Marjoria II., alias Ogilvie, widow of David II., third Earl of Crawford, being so styled to distinguish her from her mother-in-law Marjoria, or Mariona, widow of Alexander the second Earl.

‡ "The Earls of Ross, Lords of the Isles," says Mr. Riddell, "and perhaps one

most part steadily attached to their chieftains or "over-lords," but it required a firm will and a strong hand to keep them in order; and more than once a family catastrophe was the signal of rebellion, and of an attempt to transfer their allegiance to the Crown. Family councils were also occasionally held, one of which, of a very extraordinary nature, both in its occasion and its results, will come under our notice hereafter.

Thus far the picture I have drawn bears a close resemblance to the feudalism of the Continent. But, owing to the mixture of Celtic and Norman blood, a peculiar element mingled from the first in the feudality of Scotland, and has left its indelible impress on the manners and habits of thought of the country. Differently from what was the case in England, the Scoto-Norman races were peculiarly prolific,* and population was encouraged as much as possible. The Earl or Baron bestowed a fief, for example, on each of his four sons, who paid him tribute in rent and service; each son subdivided his fief again among his own children, and they again among theirs, till the blood of the highest noble in the land was flowing in that of the working peasant, at no remote interval. This was a subject of pride, not shame, in Scotland. Within three or four centuries after their settlement in the North, above one hundred different minor Houses or families of Lindsays were

or two of our highest and noblest magnates—such as the Douglasses in the heyday of their glory, &c.—especially when the right of a regality was annexed to their lands—had a 'Council,' who advised and assisted the chief and over-lord in his deliberations, and gave their consent to the marriages and political alliances of the family, as can be proved by our records. The feudal system, as regarded the higher fiefs, involved a kind of 'dominium in dominio,' and hence induced something analogous to a parliament or public council."—The names of the Council of David fifth Earl of Crawford are given as follows in a Charter of Confirmation in favour of his "lovit cousin and squire, John of Auchinleck of that Ilk," in 1466:—Thomas Ogilvy of Clova, David Fotheringham of Powrie, and Thomas Fotheringham, his son and apparent heir, Michael de Durham of the Grange, Patrick Garden of that Ilk, Philip Lindsay of the Haleh, John Ballfray of Innerleithy, and John de Lowre of that Ilk, all of them barons of Forfarshire, where the inquest was held. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*—In the Charter by James III., creating Earl David Duke of Montrose, the Earl's "nobles" are mentioned—evidently the barons holding of the Earldom, and who would naturally form this Council, though varying according to the locality where the Earl might happen to be for the time.

* Evinced by the ramifying tendency of the Scottish Stuarts, Douglasses, Hamiltons, Lindsays, &c., as compared with the Howards, Percies, Mowbrays, De Veres, &c., many of which have become entirely extinct, while most of the old Scottish families number their hundreds and thousands, in every class and station of life.

flourishing in Scotland, many of them powerful independent Barons, holding *in capite* of the Crown—many more, vassals of the House of Crawford,—the greater number settled in Angus and the surrounding counties, yet others in districts more remote and in the extremity of the kingdom,*—all of them however acknowledging the Earls of Crawford as the chiefs of their blood, and maintaining constant intercourse with them, either by assistance in their feuds, or by sending their sons to seek service either with them or their more powerful kinsmen,†—the whole clan thus forming collectively, more particularly during the fifteenth century, a great barrier and breakwater between the fertile Eastern Lowlands and the lawless clans of the Highlands.—This is no imaginary sketch:—the charters of the Earls of Crawford and of their principal cadets, through several centuries, bear witness to the constant intercourse maintained even with branches settled for generations in districts far removed from Angus, but whose claims of kindred were never forgotten by themselves or overlooked by their chiefs,—while a constant preference was given to priests, notaries, pedagogues, tradesmen, and even domestic servants, of the name and blood of Lindsay.‡ A principle of union

* For a catalogue of these families, see the Appendix, No. XII.

† In illustration of this, I may cite from the 'Criminal Trials,' and a contemporary document, the lists of the followers who attended Alexander Lord Spynie, on an occasion when he was attacked in ambuscade by the Master of Ogilvie in 1600, and the young Laird of Edzell in a conflict with Wishart of Pitarrow, on the High Street of Edinburgh, in 1603:—With Lord Spynie were Alexander Lindsay of Pesslow, Harry Lindsay, sister's son to Lindsay of Pitcairlie, Mr. Patrick Lindsay, (a graduate of some university, the prefix Master then implying this,) David Lindsay, father-brother (paternal uncle) to the Laird of Blairfeddan, Alexander Lindsay at the Mill of Finhaven, and Harry Lindsay of Blairfeddan, all in Angus:—with Edzell, beside his younger brother, were David Lindsay, younger of Vane, John Lindsay, younger of Brandland, in the Mearns, Alexander Lindsay, younger of Kethick, Mr. Patrick Lindsay, son of Patrick Lindsay, burgess of Dundee, William and John Lindsay, brothers german to Alexander Lindsay of Cultrany, in Fife, Mr. John Lindsay, brother german of Alexander Lindsay of Dunrod, in Renfrewshire, and George Lindsay, brother german of John Lindsay of Covington, in Lanarkshire. Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, tom. ii. p. 135; *Letter of Slains*, or of atonement between Sir David Lindsay of Edzell and the family of one Guthrie, slain in the conflict with Pitarrow, 1 Feb. 1606, *Haigh Muniment-room*.

‡ Provable by the charters and miscellaneous private transactions of the family, too numerous to specify,—and more especially, as regards domestic servants, by their wills. Thomas Lindsay, for instance, was steward, Archibald Lindsay porter, and George, Duncan, and Adam Lindsays, servants in other capacities in the family of John Lindsay of Balcarres, Lord Menmuir,—and so likewise in that

and attachment thus reigned throughout the whole race: the tie of consanguinity was carefully acknowledged in each ascending stage,—the meanest felt himself akin to the highest,—the feudal band was sweetened by blood, and the duty to the chief became the paramount principle of action,—and it is to this mixture of feudalism and patriarchism, the result of the mingling of races above alluded to, and reigning throughout the whole social system, that much of that good faith, which a celebrated historian of France has recognised as the distinguishing and redeeming feature of feudal times in Scotland—passion and conviction bearing ever a stronger sway than selfish interest"—is attributable. The value for names is indeed still strong in Scotland—a link of mutual interest between the upper and lower classes who bear the same patronymic; it is rare to find a Lindsay, a Hay, a Drummond, in the lower orders, who has not some tradition at least of descent from the Houses of Perth, Errol, or Crawford. And these traditions form not unfrequently a strong moral motive, producing self-respect, exertion, and independence, and deterring the individuals who inherit them from doing aught unworthy of the race they attach them to.—It has been the fashion of late years to undervalue feudal and patriarchal times,—they exhibit, it is true, but a limited and partial stage of civilisation, but no nation ever rose to enduring constitutional greatness without passing through feudalism, or something akin to it. And we must not forget that we always in a rude age hear of the bad rather than the good, of those who are the curse rather than the

of his brother, Sir David of Edzell. Several of these men wrote excellent hands.—"Mr. David Lindsay" was "pedagog" to the young Lord Spynie in 1608. Lindsay notaries appear endlessly in the family papers.

" "Peut-être pensait-on que c'est l'aspect pittoresque du pays, ses montagnes, ses lacs, ses torrents, qui donnent aux romans historiques dont la scène est en Ecosse quelque chose de si attrayant; mais l'intérêt profond qu'ils inspirent provient bien moins de cette cause matérielle que du spectacle vivant offert par une série de commotions politiques, toujours sanglantes, sans exciter le dégoût, parce que la passion et la conviction y jouent un bien plus grand rôle que l'intrigue. Il y a des pays en Europe où la nature a un aspect plus grandiose qu'en Ecosse; mais il n'en est aucun où il y ait eu tant de guerres civiles, avec tant de bonne foi dans la haine, tant de chaleur d'âme dans les affections politiques, ... Aucune histoire ne mérite à un plus haut degré d'être lue avec attention, et étudiée à ses sources originales, que celle de ce petit royaume, si long-temps ennemi de l'Angleterre, et réduit maintenant à l'état de simple province de l'Empire Britannique." Augustin Thierry, *Etudes Historiques de Dix Ans*, p. 172.

salt of society. There must have been much happiness and much virtue which we do not hear of.—But I must now resume the thread of my narrative.

Alexander second Earl of Crawford quitted Scotland for France the year after his father's decease, but wherefore he went, or what he did there, or when he returned, history telleth not.* Years passed away, and James, the youthful King of Scotland, was still detained a prisoner in England, and, as long as Albany had the power, there seemed every prospect of his remaining there. At last, by the influence of his friends in Scotland, a negotiation was opened by which he was to be allowed to revisit his dominions, on condition of leaving hostages for his return. Letters of safe-conduct were accordingly granted to the Earls of Douglas, Marr, and Crawford to visit England,† but from some cause, probably the underhand interference of Albany, the treaty was suddenly broken off, when almost every preliminary had been settled. Negotiations for the King's ransom were resumed in 1421, after the death of Albany, when Crawford reappears as a commissioner for that purpose;‡ but his final return did not take place till 1423, when Crawford, Lennox, Wigton, and other nobles met him at Durham, and escorted him to Scone, where he was crowned on the last day of May.§ Crawford, after receiving the accolade of knighthood from the King's hand,‖ departed immediately for England as one of the twenty-eight hostages pledged for his sovereign—a gallant band, among which Sir John Lindsay of the Byres had also the honour of being numbered.¶ They took oath on the Gospels that they would remain in the custody of the King of England till everything agreed upon by James should be fully executed.** In all these negotiations no mention

* On the 20th Nov. 1407, Henry IV. grants, at the application of the Earl of Douglas, a safe-conduct to his "carissimo consanguineo," Alexander Earl of Crawford, to pass through his dominions with twenty persons in his company to Amyas (Amiens?) in France, and to return by the same route. *Rot. Scot.*, tom. ii. p. 185.

† Dec. 8, 1416. *Rym. Fœd.*, tom. ix. p. 418; *Rot. Scot.*, tom. ii. p. 219.

‡ *Rym. Fœd.*, tom. x. p. 307; *Rot. Scot.*, tom. ii. p. 229.

§ *Rym. Fœd.*, tom. x. pp. 327, 381.

‖ *Excerpta e Cronicis*, &c., p. 227.

¶ *Rot. Scot.*, tom. ii. pp. 244–5.

** Sir John of the Byres obtained his liberty in 1425, but Crawford was detained

was made of ransom—a tacit admission of the illegality of the illustrious prisoner's capture.

But, although unjustly detaining him, Henry of Lancaster had bestowed the most anxious care on James's education. Born a man of genius—a poet, a musician, and a legislator—he acquired under the eye of Henry every knightly accomplishment; and a singularly enquiring mind and profound sagacity concurred with a daring resolution, and the power of concealing his purposes till they were ripe for execution, in determining him to introduce into Scotland after his return home the improvements he had so long witnessed in England,—to assimilate, in a word, the two countries as much as possible. His reign exhibits an unremitting anxiety to protect the people, to elevate the middle classes, and to promote the best interests of his country; while, as conducive to these ends and to his own personal security, he set it before him as the great object of his life to depress and crush the great feudal aristocracy,—and to this object, pursued with unswerving and remorseless determination, justice and mercy were too often sacrificed.

It cannot be denied indeed that an iron hand was needed to quell the disorders that had arisen under the long administration of Albany. The inherent vices of the feudal system had developed themselves with frightful rankness, the kingdom was one field of violence, the laws were openly disregarded, and every baron ruled as a sovereign prince—an arbitrary tyrant. The determination to put a stop to this, to pluck up the evil by the

till November, 1427, when he had leave to return on giving an equivalent. *Rot. Scot.*, tom. ii. p. 281.—In the treaty for James's release the income of the hostages is stated,—affording a curious comparative view of the wealth of the Scottish aristocracy. Duncan Lord of Argyle and the eldest son of the Lord of Dalkeith are rated at fifteen hundred marks each; the eldest son of the Earl of Athol at twelve hundred; the Earls of Moray and Crawford, and Lord Erskine, at one thousand; the Constable Hay of Errol, the Marischal Keith, and the Lord of Dirlton, at eight hundred; Andrew Gray of Foulis at six hundred; Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, Hamilton of Cadyow, and John Lindsay of the Byres, at five hundred, &c.—A thousand marks, according to Dr. Henry, was equivalent to £6666 in his time. But this valuation must, I think, have been below the truth, unless it be understood to represent the sums actually received in coin by the respective nobles, independently of other revenues, probably paid in kind. At the same time it may be remembered that the vast estates of Clifford, the first Earl of Cumberland, in the rich vales of Yorkshire, only produced £1710 per annum in the reign of Henry VIII. Whitaker's *Hist. Craven*, p. 262.

roots, to make "the rash keep the cow" throughout his dominions, mingled in the King's mind with a most bitter enmity to the memory of his uncle Albany, whose machinations had added years to his captivity,—and this enmity descended to his son Murdoch, who had assumed the Governorship, almost as a matter of course, after his father's death. It was not long before he struck the blow. Eight months after his return, having matured his plans, and surrounded himself with a strong military force, he astounded Scotland by the sudden arrest of Duke Murdoch and his whole family (with the exception of James, his youngest son, who escaped), together with twenty-six of their most powerful adherents, including Lord Crawford's uncle, Sir Alexander Lindsay of Kinneff. The Duke, his sons, and his father-in-law, the venerable Earl of Lennox, were executed, but the twenty-six barons were released immediately afterwards.* There is no doubt that the whole administration of the Albanys had been usurpation, but they had been loved by the people, and there was a craftiness, a cruelty in the whole process of their punishment, which cut deeply into the heart of the King's popularity.

Little however could be alleged to justify the next great step taken by James, the forfeiture of the House of Dunbar. George Earl of March, who had rebelliously leagued with England and the Percies against his native country, had been pardoned by Albany, as Regent; his son had succeeded in due course of time, and twenty-six years had elapsed since the epoch, which was supposed to be buried in oblivion. James denied the validity of the pardon, procured a decree confirming the original forfeiture, confiscated the vast estates of the family, and offered its degraded representative the Earldom of Buchan, with the pitiful annuity of four hundred marks, in compensation,—it was scornfully rejected, and the Earl retired to England; but the cruelty and injustice of the procedure swelled the tide of present discontent, and bore bitter fruit under the succeeding reign.

A third act of similar oppression excluded the House of Erskine from their rightful inheritance, the Earldom of Marr, which James confirmed to a branch of the royal family, doubly illegitimate,—and it was not till the reign of Queen Mary, ever just, ever generous, that this iniquitous decision was reversed.

* *Scotichronicon*, tom. ii. p. 482.

The loyalty of the Erskines induced them to acquiesce, with a mere protest in reservation of their rights,—but the King gained little by their forbearance.

A fourth act of injustice, the most glaring of all, sealed James's doom. The Earldom of Strathern, held by David, eldest son of Robert II. by his second wife, Elizabeth Ross, had descended to the Grahams in the due course of female succession,—James deprived them of it on the pretext that it was a male honour and reverted to the Crown, creating the youthful heir Earl of Menteith in lieu of it. Sir Robert Graham, uncle of the deprived Earl, a man of powerful and determined character, after fruitlessly remonstrating with the King in favour of his nephew, formally renounced his allegiance, and organized a conspiracy against his life.

The attempt was fixed for the night of the 20th of February, 1437. The revelry of the Court had been kept up till a late hour,—the guests had retired, and the King remained standing before the fire, in his night-robe, conversing with the Queen and her ladies. At this moment the clang of arms was heard, and lights flashed up from the court-yard—Sir Robert Graham's threatened vengeance darted on the King's remembrance—the tumult advanced nearer and nearer—James sprang to the door; the bolts had been removed; he attempted to force the windows, but they were barred with stanchcons of iron,—at last, recollecting a small closet concealed under the apartment, he tore up a plank of the floor, leaped down, and closed it above him—it opened originally by a little doorway on the court, and would have secured his escape, had not the entrance been built up, only a few days before, by his own orders, in consequence of his tennis-ball having repeatedly rolled in and been lost in it—the steps of the murderers were now heard hurriedly approaching, and Catherine Douglas, one of the Queen's ladies, flying to the door, thrust her arm through the staples where the bar should have slided—her arm was soon broken, the door dashed open, and they rushed in—but the King was not to be found till one of them, recollecting the secret closet, pulled up the board and discovered the unhappy prince standing below. Sir Robert Graham darted to the spot, and despatched him with repeated blows.*

* "The causes of his slaughter," says the annotator of the 'Extracta e Cronicis Scocie,' "was that he was owre cruel to his lords after that he had laid many

The kingdom stood aghast with horror,—Sir Robert and his accomplices were hunted down, seized, and put to death with the most frightful tortures, which were borne by Sir Robert with unshrinking fortitude even in his last moments justifying the deed, and prophesying that the day would soon arrive when Scotland would bless his memory for having rid her of such a tyrant. Alexander Earl of Crawford is said to have been active in the capture of the assassins,* but the little we know of his character renders me unwilling to suppose that he countenanced the horrors that attended their execution.

Singularly enough, the King's principal defender at this closing scene of his life was Sir David Dunbar, brother of the disinherited Earl of March, a noble and loyal baron, who, though unable to save him, and wounded by the assassins, pursued them on their retreat, and killed one of them, though the rest escaped. James II. subsequently bestowed on him the lands of Auchtermonzie and Cairnie, in guerdon of his loyalty, and they descended to his sole child and heiress, Margaret, afterwards wife of Earl Beardie, grandson of Alexander Earl of Crawford.†

Earl Alexander seems to have mingled little in public life subsequently to his return from England,—he doubtless held as much aloof from the Court as possible. He had, in 1421, previously to his departure for England, renewed the entail of the Crawford estates, settling them on the heirs-male for ever, "bearing the name and arms of Lindsay," under the penalty of forfeiture and devolution on the next male heir, if they should be changed or disused,‡—the earliest instance in Scotland of what is termed a strict entail, with an irritant and forfeiting clause or penalty, in the event of infringement of its conditions,—and, in 1429, he mortified the sum of twelve marks yearly for the support of a

soldes in pledges of his ransom in England,—he cherished not his nobles, but cruelly put them to death, and in the parliament of Perth he thocht to half forfaltit many of them, and desirit to see their charters; some schew (shewed) their swerds, and said their forbeare (ancestors) was their lands be that . . . He wes ane man of great policy and wisdom, bot owre sharp to his barons." *Page* 236.

* *Pitscottie*, tom. i. p. 118.

† *Scotichronicon*, tom. ii. p. 503; and original title-deeds of Auchtermonzie and Cairnie in the Charter-room at Crawford Priory, quoted by Mr. Riddell, *Crawford Case*, p. 54.

‡ Printed, from the original in the Fetheringham Charter-chest, in the *Crawford Case*, p. 42.

chaplain, to celebrate a daily mass at the altar of St. George and St. Leonard, in St. Mary's, the parish-church of Dundee—alternately with the other chaplains there endowed by his ancestors—for the souls of himself, of his "most beloved spouse Mariota," of his children, and his ancestors, of his sovereign James King of Scotland and Lady Johanna Beaufort, the Queen, and for all persons whom he might have injured, without having made sufficient atonement, and for all the faithful dead—for ever.*

He died in 1438, the year after the King's murder, and was succeeded by his son Sir David Lindsay, third Earl of Crawford —David Earl of Crawford "and Lord the Lyndissay," as he is designated in 1443,† a title ever since borne by the Earls of Crawford.

* From the original, Fotheringham Charter-chest, *Crawford Case*, p. 43.

† In the following letter to Sir Alexander Forbes, the chief of that ancient and powerful Northern House, preserved in the Charter-room of his representative, the present Lord Forbes. I give it in the original orthography, as a curious relic of the time:—

"David Erle of Cranfurde and Lorde the Lyndissay to Schir Alexander of Forbas, of that Ilk, knycht, oure depute of the shereffdome of Abirdene, greeting. Forquhy that we ar informyt that oure soverane lorde the Kyng, with the avise of his counsail, has chargit yhou, as depute of the said shereffdome, to ger (cause) restore agayne to oure cousin and alye, Dauid Seriymgeoure, al his guddis that he was spoylyeit of, as ye knaw; and als the guddis that Alexander Stewart tuke out of the landis of Pettfoure his mailing (farm),—noghtaynestanding, as we ar informyt, yhe haf done litle or nought to oure said soueren Lord's chargis, of the quhilk we ferly (marvel) mikle, gyf it sa be, considerand the effect that yhe here:—Quharefor we charge yhou in oure sable soueren lorde the Kingis name, that, noghtwythstanding the delay bigane (bygone), yhe fulfil and seruz oure sable soueren lordis lettres in al fourme and effect as thai proport in thaimself, langing (concerning?) oure said alyis guddis to be resteryt, and vtheris things contenit in thaim, as yhe will answere to hym and his counsail thareupon,—for we have new charges thereupon of late. And forther we declare to yhou, that sin oure said cousin and alye has na wyte (blame) of the gret herschip (foray) made be the Lorde of Gordone vpon yhou and yhoure frendis, as we ar . . . sikirly (surely) informyt, we desire and wald that his sable guddis war resteryt agayn, sa that it nedyt (needeth) us not to entromet (meddle) tharwith, sin he and yhoure frendis ar bath so nere to us. Gevin vnder oure seele at Dunde, the viij^me day of Aprile, the yhere of God j^me iiij^c and xl^ti iij^e."

CHAPTER V.

"Earl Lindsay heard and curled his lip,
He knew the distant horn;
And there was din and hurry in
Finhaven's towers that morn;

The clasping of manly armour on,
And girding of glaive and sword;
The warders trode, the Lindsays rode
O'er dyke, and ditch, and ford."

NEVAY.

THE dying prophecy of Sir Robert Graham proved true. When the horror and pity aroused by the King's murder had a little subsided, the nobles clearly saw that his death was the only chance that could have preserved their power. They now applied themselves by every means to retrieve, confirm, and augment it.

William Earl of Douglas and David Earl of Crawford were at this period the most powerful subjects in Scotland; they entered into a solemn league of association and friendship, with the object of drawing to their party the other great feudal families, and thus united to rule paramount in the state. Everything seemed propitious—the King a minor—the Queen-mother powerless—Douglas the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom—the ministers, Livingstone and Crichton, men of talent indeed, but not of the more powerful nobility, and occupied in continual struggles with each other; nothing, humanly speaking, could have resisted them, when a single man stood forward and saved his country—Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland—the guide and councillor of the King during his minority, his adviser in his riper years—a man of honesty, learning, wisdom, courage, and moderation, the Wallace of his century, and the fairest impersonation of the Church in her mediæval character as the conservatrix of equity and peace on earth,—a man whom it is not unreasonable to believe that God had mercifully provided for the

occasion, and whose words, spoken in His name, could not fall to the ground.*

Kennedy's eye had long been fixed on the machinations of Crawford and Douglas, and on the discovery of their league he coalesced with Crichton, then at enmity with them, and threw his whole weight into the hostile scale. Crawford instantly resented it by descending from his hills, in company with his friend and kinsman Alexander Ogilvie of Inverquharitie, and other allies, and invading the patrimony of St. Andrew in Fifeshire, harrying the Bishop's lands, burning his granges and tenements, and carrying off, in default of the prelate himself, an immense booty to his fastnesses in Angus. Kennedy, after fruitlessly remonstrating against this outrage, formally excommunicated the Lindsay chief with mitre and staff, bell, book, and candle, for a year,—denouncing the bitterest curses of Heaven against the impious Earl and his friends and abettors, and laying under interdict every place where their persons might be. The fierce chief, who submitted to no laws from man, cared little for such a denunciation from the Church.† But this sacrilege met with its reward—and within the twelvemonth.

* The following is the character of Bishop Kennedy, as drawn by the chronicler, Lindsay of Pitscottie:—"This Bishop James Kennedy was wondrous godly and wise, and was weill learned in divine sciences, and practised the same to the glory of God and weill of his Church, for he causit all persons (parsons) and vicars to remain at their paroche kirks for the instruction and edifying of their flock, and caused them preach the word of God to the people, and visie them that were sick; and also the said Bishop visited every kirk within his diocie four times in the year, and preached to the said paroche himself the word of God, and required of them gif they were duly instructed be their person and vicar, and gif the pair were sustained, and the youth brocht up and learned conform to the order that was tane in the Kirk of God, and where he fand not this order keeped, he made great punishment, to the effect that God's glory might shine in his diocie, leaving guid example to all archbishops and kirkmen to cause the patrimony of God's word to be used to his own glory and to the common weill of the poor. Further, he was ane man weill learned in the civil laws, and had great practique in the same, so that he was maist able of any in Scotland, either spiritual or temporal, to have given ane wise counsel, and specially in parliament, or when ambassadors craved their intents, none was to meet as he to have answered them, or when any civil insurrection was in the country, and specially lese-majesty against the King's own person, quhereon he was weill practised." *Chron.*, tom. i. p. 170.

† *Addicions of Scottis Cayiklis and Deidis*, commonly called the 'Auchinleck Chronicle,' privately printed by Thomas Thomson, Esq.—almost the only contemporary record of the time; *De Cronicis Scotorum Brevia*, by John Law, Canon of St. Andrews, MS., in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, p. 38; *Lindsay of Pitscottie*, tom. i. p. 52; *Boeth.*, fol. 365.

The Benedictines of the Abbey of Aberbrothock, or Arbroath, had, it seems, appointed his eldest son, Alexander Master of Crawford,* their chief justiciar, or supreme judge in civil affairs, throughout their regality.† "But with his huge train of followers he became chargeable to the monastery, and otherwise," as an historian of the Lindsays expresses it, "uneasy to the convent,"‡ so that the Chapter formally deposed him, and appointed Alexander of Inverquharitie to succeed him in his office. The Master, however, showed no intention of surrendering it, but took forcible possession of the town and abbey; the rivals therefore assembled their friends and followers to decide the question by the sword. Douglas sent one hundred Clydesdale men to the aid of the Master, and the Hamiltons also assisted them with some forces. The Ogilvies found an unexpected auxiliary in Sir Alexander Seyton, the powerful Lord of Gordon, afterwards Earl of Huntley, who, arriving at Inverquharitie, on his road to Strathbogie, the night before the battle, was obliged, by a rude law of ancient Scottish hospitality, to own his host's quarrel, and take the field with him.§ Many other barons, either for love or

* "Master" of Crawford, of Angus, of Sutherland, &c., was the peculiar style and title—not, as commonly supposed, of the eldest son only, but of the next or presumptive heir to a Scottish peerage. The title was not adopted till near the middle of the fifteenth century. Alexander Master of Crawford, mentioned in the text, is the first of the Crawford family so designed—in a charter, dated 21st of March, 1444, in the Great Seal Register. The previous style is shewn by that given to his father Earl David, during his father's lifetime, in a Bond of Reversion, 12 Feb. 1436, in which the father and son are styled "Alishander Erle of Crawfurde and Schir David the Lyndesay, the sone and the aire of that ilk." *Crawford Case*, p. 44. —An instance in which the heir presumptive uses the style of Master may be seen in a charter dated at Finhaven, 23 July, 1631, by "Alexander Lindesays, Crafurdie Magister, frater legitimus et natu maximus ... Comitis Georgii, Crafurdie Comitis," &c. *Ibid.*, p. 91.—The second title of the family was used by the eldest son—as, for example, by "Alexander Lord Lindsay, Master of Crawford," in 1490, *Ibid.*, pp. 58, &c., not by courtesy, as in England, but by right; and such eldest sons sat in the Scottish parliament and were peers as well as their fathers. Frequently, when a family possessing an old and historical title were advanced to a higher but new one, the eldest son or Master retained the old name,—thus, the eldest sons of the Earls of Bothwell took the style of "Master of Hailes," those of the Earls of Lennox that of Lord Darnley, &c.—"Master, in Scotland," says Mr. Riddell, "had, in a great degree, the same meaning with 'Monsieur' ordinarily in France, though not there given to the King's eldest son." *Crawford Case*, p. 82.

† He was also Justiciary of the Abbey of Scone, in Perthshire.

‡ Crawford's *Hist. Lindsays*, MS.

§ "An ancient custom," says Leslaus, "among the Scottishmen, that wheresoever they happen to lodge, they defend their hosts from all hurt, even to the shedding of

hatred, espoused the Ogilvies' cause, and the united force marched for Arbroath on Sunday, the 13th of January,* 1445-6, with the intention of taking the town, but found the Lindsays, in great force, drawn up in battle array before the gates.

It must have been a beautiful sight! The two armies were composed of the bravest knights and gentlemen of the North-East of Scotland; steeds were prancing, broadswords gleaming, and banners waving in the evening breeze; the word was given, and that gallant scene was about to be changed to one of blood and carnage, when, as they were on the very point of closing, the old Earl of Crawford, on his panting charger, rushed between them. He had heard at Dundee of the approaching conflict, and galloped to Arbroath in hopes of arriving in time to prevent bloodshed between his own clan and those who had till then been our friends—nay, his own wife was an Ogilvie. But before he could be heard, (though his son drew bridle in deference to his presence,)† he was encountered by one of the enemy who knew him not, and, darting his spear through his mouth and neck, mortally wounded him.

Furious at the sight,‡ the Lindsays rushed to the charge, and a desperate conflict ensued, which ended in the total defeat of the Ogilvies and their allies, who left more than five hundred dead on the field of battle, while the loss of the victors did not exceed one hundred. Sir John Oliphant of Aberdalgy, Sir John Forbes of Pitsligo, Sir Alexander Barclay of Grandtully, Maxwell of Tellein, Garden of Boroughfield, and David of Aberkerdach,

their blood and losing of their lives for them, if need be, so long as their meat is undigested in their stomachs."—*Gordon's Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 71; *Leslæi de Orig., &c., Scotorum*, p. 297.

* The date of Earl David's obitus in the Cathedral of Aberdeen being the 17th of January, (*Regist. Episc. Aberdonen.*, tom. ii. p. 200,) and the death of the Earl having taken place four days after the battle, this gives the 13th as the day of combat. The 'Auchinleck Chronicle' fixes it on the 23rd, p. 38,—Lesley (correctly) on the 13th in the Latin version of his history, p. 297, but on the 23rd in the Scottish, p. 18,—Buchanan on the 24th, lib. xi. cap. 22,—the Extracta on the 20th, p. 242.

† *Lindsay of Pitscottie*, tom. i. p. 54.

‡ "Whilk when his son and friends beheld, they were so enraged, that they suddenly rushed upon their enemies with great ire; but they upon the other side resisted the press, and held off their adversaries right manfully for ane long time, while (till) at the last the Laird of Inverquharitie was deadly wounded," &c. *Ibid.*

* Such evidently must have been the wording of the MS.

were killed on the peoples' side. The Lord of Gordon* and "Wat Ogilby," brother of Inverquharitie,† escaped by flight. Inverquharitie himself was taken prisoner, and carried to the castle of Finhaven, where he died of his wounds and grief at his defeat,‡—unless, indeed, a darker story, credited at the time, be correct—that the Countess Marjory, his cousin-german, in the agony of finding that her husband was wounded to death, rushed to his chamber and smothered him with a down pillow.§ Earl David expired after a week of lingering torture, and his body lay for four days unburied, since, in the awful words of a contemporary chronicler,‖ "no man durst earth him," till Bishop Kennedy sent the Prior of St. Andrews to take off the excommunication, and pronounce forgiveness over the dust of his enemy.¶ It did not escape notice that the battle of Arbroath, where Crawford received his death's wound, was fought on that day twelvemonth that he ravaged "St. Andrew's land" in Fife.** And, remembering the stormy and lawless life of our ancestor, we should rejoice with the old chronicler, that "he died in ane guid action, labourand to put Christian men to peace, albeit he was very insolent all the rest of his lifetime."††

It is easy to imagine how deeply this catastrophe must have affected Scotland, consequent, as it was then supposed, on the

* "Huntley, being destitute of his folke in this manner, horsed himself, and fled away to the house of Inverquharitie, to save his life." *Ibid.*

† "Wat Ogilby" succeeded his brother, who left no issue, and was the ancestor of the existing House of Inverquharitie.

‡ He was buried in the South aisle of the parish church of Kinnell. His boot and iron spur, the latter measuring eight inches long by four and a half broad, with the rowel as large as a crown-piece, were hung up over his grave,—the spur is now in the possession of the Rev. George Walker, minister of Kinnell, to whom I am indebted for more than one valued communication.—"There are several tumuli," says the 'Edinburgh Gazetteer,' speaking of the locality, "and tradition points out the field of a battle fought between the rival clans of Lindsay and Ogilvie in 1448."

§ "Et ballivus captus Fyvewin dicitur; et dum concepit Comitissa, quod sponsus Comes morti proximus fuisset, accessit ad cameram ubi erat ballivus valserratus jacens, qui et ipse frater erat Comitisse, et dum intellexit quod, chirurgicorum arte impenitus, convalere potuit, superposito lecto plumiali, cum, ut aliqui ferebant, ad lectum acceleravit." *Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie*, p. 242.

‖ *Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 39.

¶ His obitus, as above mentioned, was celebrated on the 17th of January, which fixes the day of his decease.

** *Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 39.

†† *Boeth.*, p. 365; *Pitscottie*, tom. i. pp. 33 sqq.

excommunication,—friendship turned into hatred—one offender slain in the attempt to effect a reconciliation, the other perishing by the hands of a woman, and that woman, as believed at the time, not his kinswoman merely, but his sister—the whole preparations for the catastrophe matured during the twelvemonth for which the curse was imprecated, and that catastrophe taking effect on the very day when the curse expired. Excommunication, with its withering effects, gives here the gloom and awfulness of the old Greek tragedy, without the revolting characteristic of the latter, the innocence of the parties hereditarily doomed to crime. But the story is really one of providential retribution.

The Lindsays, however, flushed by their victory, were not to be deterred from following up their advantage, and, in the words of a contemporary, they "efter that a great time held the Ogilbies at great subjection, and tuik their guids and destroyit their places."* Vestiges are said to be still discernible of a wing of the castle of Inverquharitie, destroyed after the battle;† and Thomas Ogilvie of Clova, a younger brother of Alexander, assisted in the demolition.‡ He had sided with the Lindsays against his clan, and the barony of Clova, forming the North-West barrier between the country of the Lindsays and that of the Ogilvies, was his reward,§—a stroke of feudal policy which secured us a friend on the frontier, and engaged our enemies in intestine feuds and dissensions, to their own detriment and our infinite advantage, for nearly a century afterwards. A solemn indenture was then entered into between the Houses of Clova and Inverquharitie, extremely curious, and drawn up by certain churchmen, by which "the great skaiths, hurts, harms, slaughter of friends, tinsal (loss) of guids, through discord in times bygane sen (since) the battle of Arbroath" were finally "concorded" and closed, and friendship and kindliness re-established between them.‖ But this pacification merely transferred without annihi-

* *Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 38.

† Forsyth's *Beauties of Scotland*.

‡ "Indenture betwix Inverquharitie and Clovay for the douncasting of the House of Inverquharitie efter the battle of Aberbrothock," 25 Sept. 1450. *Inverquharitie Charter-chest*.

§ David, fifth Earl of Crawford, on renewing his investiture, states it to be granted to him "pro suis servitiis et magnis laboribus," 5 July, 1482. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*

‖ This indenture is dated "at the waterside of Prosswyn (Glen-prosain) betwix

lating the weight of feudal hate; the Lindsays lost, the Ogilvies gained a partisan; the feud between the two clans raged as fiercely as ever, nor was it till the accession of James VI. to the united throne of Great Britain, that peace was finally established between them. And even subsequently to that period, and down to the present day, their fortunes, according to popular superstition, have been mainly influenced by these early feuds. When Cardinal Bethune was Abbot of Arbroath, they were still contending for the office which had been the original cause of dispute; and his half-serious, half-sportive imprecation, "that every future Lindsay might be poorer than his father," is often cited to account for the fact that not a single landed proprietor of the name of Lindsay is now to be found in Angus, where once they were so numerous.* The Ogilvies, direct male descendants of the original Celtic Maormors, or Earls, of the province, and one of the most gallant names in Scottish history, deservedly retain their ancestral seat.

> "We had been friends—had shared the feast together,
> Fought side by side, and our first cause of strife,
> Woe to the pride of both! was but a slight one."

I have only further to add, that a ballad narrating the legend of the battle of Arbroath was still extant, and sung at social meetings, within the memory of man, in Angus,—a composition of little poetical merit, judging by the fragments that remain of it, but constructed with this peculiarity, that the Lindsays and Ogilvies could be made to change places, and win or lose the battle, according as the company for whose entertainment the minstrel sang it were partisans of one or the other of the rival families of Angus.†

By his wife, Marjory, daughter of Alexander Ogilvie of Auchterhouse, chief of that ancient race, and hereditary Sheriff of Angus,

Inverquharitie and Cortequhy," the 26th March, 1524,—and, as illustrative of the times, I have inserted some extracts from it in the Appendix, No. XIII.—I am indebted to the kindness of the present Sir John Ogilvie, Bart., of Inverquharitie, for the communication of this, and the preceding indenture of 1450.

* Chambers' *Hist. of the Rebellion of* 1745, tom. i. p. 302.

† Information from the Rev. George Walker.—I subjoin, as illustrating our relations with the Ogilvies and the early genealogy of that noble House, the following statement of their descent, as first (in some important points) ascertained and fixed

Earl David left a large family of children,—Alexander, his successor; Walter Lindsay of Beaufort and Edzell, of whom, and his descendants, I shall speak more particularly hereafter; William of Lekoquhy,—Sir John of Brechin,—and James; of whom William became the ancestor of the House of Evelick, in Perthshire, with its various cadets,—Sir John, of that of Pitcairlie, in Angus, and their junior branch of Cairnie,—and James, the youngest, accompanying the Princess Eleanor Stuart to Germany, when she went to be married to Sigismund of Austria, espoused an heiress near Augsburg, where his descendants were reported to be still subsisting, and in good circumstances, about a century ago.*

by my friend Mr. Riddell—I am happy to say from documents belonging to my father:—

I. Sir Walter Ogilvie of Auchterhouse, hereditary Sheriff of Angus, killed at the battle of Glenbrierachan, 1392, *vide supra*, p. 94.—Left issue,
   1. Alexander, his *successor*;
   2. Walter of Lentrathen, ancestor of the Airlie family; and
   3. John of Inverquharitie, ancestor of Sir John Ogilvie, Bart.:—But the respective seniority of these two brothers is doubtful. John left issue,
      1. Alexander of Inverquharitie, killed at the battle of Arbroath, 1445, without issue.
      2. Walter of Inverquharity, *successor* to his brother, and ancestor of Sir John Ogilvie, Bart.
      3. Thomas of Clova, ancestor of that family.

II. Alexander Ogilvie, of Auchterhouse, Sheriff of Angus, fl. 1406-1423. Left issue,
   1. Sir Patrick, his *successor*.
   2. Sir Andrew, of Inchmartin, ancestor of the extinct Earls of Findlater.
   3. Marjory, Countess of Crawford.

III. Sir Patrick Ogilvie, of Auchterhouse, Sheriff of Angus, and High Justiciary of Scotland, fl. 1418-1427. Left issue,
   1. Alexander, his *successor*.
   2. Walter of Beaufort and Ouren,—died without issue, after 1453.

IV. Alexander Ogilvie, of Auchterhouse, Sheriff of Angus, fl. 1458-1465. Left issue,

V. Margaret Ogilvie, heiress of Auchterhouse, Countess of Buchan.

* "James, of whom came the Crafters in Augsburg." *Note by David Lord Balcarres to a MS. Genealogy written before* 1580, *in the Haigh Muniment-room*, —"James . . went to Almenie, and married there, whose posterity to this day is very populous, and honourable, and famous, chiefly in Augsburg." *MS. Genealogy*, 1623, *ibid.*—"He was married to the heretrix of ane ancient family there for his valour in armes; his posterity to this day does possess large territories near Augsburgh." *MS. Genealogy, by Sir James Balfour, Adv. Lib.*—*Memoirs by James Earl of Balcarres*, MS.

CHAPTER VI.

WALDHAVES.

"The Lindsay, then, was loved among his friends?"

NINIAN.

"Honoured and feared he was, but little loved;
For e'en his bounty bore a show of sternness,
And when his passions rose'd, he was a Sathan
For wrath and injury. * * * *
I brought him a petition from our convent;
He granted straight—but in such tone and manner,
By my good saint! I thought myself scarce safe
Till Tay rolled broad between us!"

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

ALEXANDER DE LINDSAY, Lord of that Ilk, Earl of Crawford, Knight" (as the Master of Crawford and victor of Arbroath is designed in a charter of 1449*), is still remembered traditionally in Scotland as "the Tiger,"† or "Earl Beardie," nicknames which he acquired from the ferocity of his character and the exuberance of his beard,‡ though a comparatively modern authority derives the latter epithet from the little reverence in which he held the King's courtiers, and his readiness to "beard the best of them."§ He had married, as I have already intimated, Marjory Dunbar, a daughter of the House of March, an alliance that was not calculated to foster his loyalty. Douglas and Macdonald of the Isles, the titular Earl of Ross, shared with

* *Haigh Muniment-room.*

† "Dictus Tigris, qui totam Angusiam in subjectione tenuit." *De Comitiis Scotorum Brevis*, MS.

‡ "Surnamed 'Beardie,' or 'David with the Long Beard,'" according to Sir James Balfour, MS. Adv. Lib.

§ "Weill known by the designations of 'Earl Beardie,' or 'Beard the best of them.'" *Genealogy of the House of Drummond, by Lord Strathallan*, 1681; p. 132. —He is styled "Earl Beardie" in a curious grant under the privy seal to Patrick Lindsay Bishop of Ross of the non-entries of the Earldom of Crawford, 14 Dec. 1615, in which the family genealogy is recited for two centuries.

him the chief power in Scotland; virtually petty princes, their united strength far exceeded that of their sovereign. The immediate consequence of Earl David's death at Arbroath was a new league between these three nobles, of mutual alliance, offensive and defensive, against all men, the King himself not excepted,—but this was kept carefully concealed.

The King had now attained the age of seventeen, and exhibited a character beyond his years. Kennedy had won his warm attachment and confidence,—it was his advice to temporise—to disunite his enemies, and subdue them in detail. James inherited all his father's jealousy and hatred of the aristocracy, but had derived a lesson of prudence from his unhappy fate. The league in the mean while between the three nobles gradually acquired a defined outline and purpose, and there seems reason to believe that, before the close of 1451, it had assumed the character of a conspiracy, in conjunction with the Yorkist party in England, to dethrone the King and usurp the government.*

It was about the commencement of the following year that the bond came to light. James sent for the Earl of Douglas to Stirling, and, after vainly entreating him to break the league, stabbed him, in a paroxysm of rage, with his own hand.† Crawford immediately rose in rebellion, and assembling "the haill folks of Angus, and a great company of his kin and friends,"‡ encamped at Brechin, with the intention of intercepting the Earl of Huntley—his old antagonist at Arbroath—now appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the kingdom, and who was hastening with an army of between three and four thousand men, composed chiefly of the Forbeses, Ogilvies, and other loyal clans of the North-East of Scotland, to his sovereign's assistance,—James having in the mean while marched as far as Perth, with the object of effecting a junction with Huntley, and preventing Crawford from joining Douglas.§

The battle of Brechin was fought on Ascension-day,‖ the 18th

* Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, tom. iv. p. 90.

† On the 22nd of Feb., 1452, Shrove-Tuesday.

‡ *Lindsay of Pitscottie*, tom. i. p. 105.—They were "guilded," says Drummond of Hawthornden, "by some French commanders." *Works*, p. 31.—I do not know his authority for this statement.

§ *Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 47.

‖ *Boethius*, fol. 374.

of May, 1452,* at the Hair Cairn,† on the moor, about two miles North-East of the town.‡ The most determined courage was displayed on both sides, and though Crawford's army, gathered so hastily, was far outnumbered by the united force of the royalists,§ the victory remained for a long time uncertain, till a company of fresh Angusshire men came up to renew the battle, and, taking advantage of the hill-side, rushed so fiercely on Huntley's vanguard, that his men were thrown into confusion and gave back. The Lindsays redoubled their efforts—the royalists retreated before their furious charge—the King's standard was in danger, and Crawford was on the point of victory, when, providentially for Scotland, the desertion of one of his most trusted vassals occasioned his defeat.

This traitor was John Collace of Balnamoon, who, before the engagement, had requested Crawford that, in the event of their victory, his son might be put in fee of the lands of Ferne, which lay near his house and convenient for him. "The time is short," replied the Earl, "stand bravely by me to-day, and prove yourself a valiant man, and you shall have all and more than your desire."‖ Whether Balnamoon was not contented with this answer, or whether, as appears to me more probable, he had some prior pique against the Earl, or whether, in fine, he hoped, by betraying his over-lord, to obtain the advantage of holding his lands directly of the Crown, I know not; but he instantly departed, as if he would have fought most furiously,—yet, when he

* *Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 47.

† Information from my hereditary friend, the Right Rev. David Low, Bishop of Moray and Ross.

‡ "In the field on the moor beside Brechin." *Auchinleck Chron.*, p. 47.—"The spot is a little to the North-East of the parish of Brechin not actually in it, though so termed; on the road leading to the North-water Bridge." *Old Stat. Acc.*, tom. v. p. 463.—"The Earl of Crawford," says Sir Robert Gordon, "understanding that the Earl of Huntley was coming from the North to aid the King, he assembled all his friends and followers to hinder his passage, at the foot of the Carn of Month (Cairn o' Mount). Huntley did weill know that he was to pass through the enemy's country, which made him pass on with all his might and force to gain the passage of the North-water Bridge. This he did, although with some loss of his men. Both armies encountered two miles by east Brechin, between the town and the North-water Bridge," &c.—*Hist. Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 72.

§ "And there was with the Earl of Huntley far mair than was with the Earl of Crawford, because he displayit the King's banner, and said it was the King's action, and he was his lieutenant, &c." *Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 48.

‖ *Lindsay of Pitscottie*, on his own authority.

saw his time come, when he should have supported his chief, who was then fighting "cruelly," and who, if duly seconded, would have won the field,—at this critical moment, I say, he drew off his division, consisting of three hundred men, armed with bills, broad-swords, battle-axes, and long spears, on whom the Earl chiefly relied, and "in whose hands the haill hope of victory stood that day," aside from the left wing, where they were stationed; and thus left the middle ward, where Crawford fought, exposed and unprotected, the left wing being engaged with the enemy. Huntley seized the opportunity to assault and break the troops thus laid open, and the consequence was, that the Tiger's men, who were on the point of gaining the victory, were defeated, notwithstanding his frantic efforts to recover the day.*

He fled immediately to Finhaven. A son of Donald, Thane of Cawdor,† who had been taunted with cowardice before the battle, and had fought valiantly throughout the day through the desire of regaining his character, pursued him so fiercely that he got into the midst of his immediate followers, and was compelled, for safety, to go along with them, as if he had been one of their party, into the castle, where he heard the Tiger exclaim, on alighting from his horse and calling for a cup of wine, that he would willingly pass seven years in hell, to gain the honour of such a victory as had that day fallen to Huntley.‡ The young intruder sat at supper in the great hall among the crowd, when an alarm was given that Huntley was upon them,—all started to their arms, and in the confusion he effected his escape, carrying off with him Crawford's silver goblet, which he presented to Huntley at Brechin as a voucher for his singular adventure.§

* *Auchinleck Chron.*, p. 48; *Boeth.*, fol. 374; *Pitscottie*, tom. i. pp. 105 sqq.; Tytler's *Hist. of Scot.*, tom. iv. p. 105.

† More correctly written Calder. See a note to Chapter IX. of these Lives.

‡ "That he wad be content to hing seven years in hell by the breers o' the e'e" (the eyelashes) is the traditional version of this exclamation.

§ *Pitscottie*, on his own authority, tom. i. p. 107; *Tytler*, tom. iv. p. 106.—This adventurous youth is said to have been ancestor of the Calders of Asmadler, an estate which the historians of the Gordons asserts to have been given him by Huntley in reward of his daring; adding that "George Duke of Gordon had a cup made of silver, and gilded and embossed as like to the original as a workman could do, and gave it to this Mr. Calder of Asmadler, to be kept in his family by him and his successors, under penalty of paying double the feu-duty of his lands that he then paid to the Duke and his successors; and out of this cup," he adds, "have I of late drunk. It weighs 12 lib. 13 sh. [sic] sterling." Gordon's *Hist. of the Family of*

Earl Beardie lost his brother, Sir John Lindsay of Brechin and Pitcairlie, in this battle, beside the Laird of Dundas, "and other

Gordon, tom. i. p. 70.—The adventure at Fishaven may possibly be true, but the lands of Assanlee was granted to the Calders twelve years before the battle of Brechin. It may probably have been regranted with additional privileges by Huntley on this occasion.

The story is told somewhat differently in some MS. 'Geographical Collections relating to Scotland,' bearing date 1723, and preserved in the Advocates' Library. "There was one Hutcheon Calder in company with Huntley, who by his cunning and courage got into the camp of Earl Beardie, and likewise into his tent, who after supper brought away the said Earl's drinking-cup (which cup Calder of Assanlee keeps to this day), being a large silver cup, overlaid with gold, holding a Scots pint and two gills, of fine engraven and curved work, and cape (cover), upon which there was an inscription, which is now lost; whereupon returning to the camp, in the silence of the night, he gave account to Huntley of the situation of Earl Beardie's camp and number of his forces, and, as a testimony of his being there, produced the said cup; upon which intelligence they attacked Crawford in the morning, and defeated his forces, for which service the said Hutcheon Calder obtained the lands of Assanlee, whose posterity possess it to this day."

The "Assanlee Cup" is now in the possession of Mrs. Alexander Gordon, only surviving child of the late Sir Ernest Gordon of Park and Cobairdy. It was acquired by the father of Sir Ernest, James Gordon of Cobairdy, in the following curious manner. "Some years after the 'forty-five,' a party of gentlemen, Jacobites, and all more or less under the ban of government, ventured to hold a meeting at a small hostelry in Morayshire, between Elgin and Forres. In the course of their *séderunt*, one of their number, Gordon of Cobairdy, got up to mend the fire, and in doing so saw something at the bottom of the *peat-basket*, or box for holding the peats, which seemed to glitter. He fished the object out, and found that it was a large and handsome old cup, but perfectly flattened. On inquiry, it turned out that this was the celebrated 'Cup of Assanlee,' which had been pledged to the landlord of the inn by the Laird, a drinking spendthrift, in security for a debt. Cobairdy, who was a man of considerable taste and a collector of rarities, never lost sight of the cup, but, when opportunity offered, got it into his possession, though he and his family had to pay more than one sum of money which had been raised by Assanlee on the security of his little-cared-for heirloom. Having passed into Cobairdy's possession, he had it perfectly restored to shape. It stands about fifteen inches high, is richly embossed, and is peculiarly graceful in shape and workmanship. There are no arms upon it, though one account says that the arms of the Earl of Crawford were upon it. There is the following inscription in the centre of the lid, 'Titulantem firmavit Huntlea, Brechin, Maii 20 [or 28], 1453,'—but in characters apparently of the seventeenth century."—I owe these and some preceding particulars to the kindness of Mrs. Gordon through the courtesy of my kinsman Mr. Charles Elphinstone Dalrymple.

Other families beside that of Assanlee date their settlement as landed proprietors in the North of Scotland from the era of Earl Beardie's defeat at Brechin,—for example, those of Dunain, Dochfour, and others of the name of Baillie, in Invernessshire, are descended from a son of the Laird of Lamington, whose gallantry at the battle of Brechin was rewarded by Huntley with part of the Castle-lands of Inverness (Shaw's *Hist. of Moray*, p. 176),—and Sir William Leslie of Balquhain, for his bravery at Brechin, got from Huntley the lands of Kinrarig in Mar, and Auchie in Strathbogie. *Collections, Hist. Aberdeenshire*, p. 530.

sindry gentlemen, weill till three-score of coat-armours," "whereof," says Pitscottie, "had been great pity if there had been a better quarrel." Huntley lost his brothers, William and Henry Seyton, and Gordon of Methlic, ancestor of Lord Aberdeen.* In consequence of this defeat, the superstition long prevailed, that green was unlucky to the Lindsays, the prevailing colour of their dress having on this occasion been of that colour:—that

"A Lindsay with green
Should never be seen,"

is an old traditional proverb in the clan. The Ogilvies dislike green equally, having worn that colour on the occasion of their defeat at Arbroath:—

"Maxwell and Johnstone both agree for once!"

Crawford had already been declared the King's enemy and a rebel, because he had contemned his authority on being summoned by a herald to "underlie," or submit to the law. The decree of forfeiture was now repeated and confirmed;† his "lands, life, and goods" were declared forfeit to the state;‡ his lordship of Brechin, with the hereditary sheriffdom of Aberdeenshire, were adjudged to the gallant Huntley;§ and while the armorial coat of the victor was honourably and deservedly augmented, that of the rebel was torn, and his bearings abolished and "scrapit out of the Book of Arms for ever."‖

But though crippled by his loss sufficiently to prevent his junc-

* *Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 48.

† 12 June, 1432, *Auch. Chron.*, p. 48.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Gordon's *Hist. Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 73; Godscroft's *Hist. Douglasses*, p. 260; and other writers of the seventeenth century,—several of whom speak of his being deprived of the sheriffdom of Inverness-shire. But more ancient testimony would be desirable.

‖ *Pitscottie*, tom. i. p. 108; Gordon's *Hist. Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 73.—Huntley, says the latter writer, afterwards exchanged with Crawford the lordship of Brechin for that of Badenoch. "Three lions' heads in a yellow field were added to his arms, with the privilege of carrying before his horse-companies at all weaponshaws and battles from henceforward a plaid (or banner) of four corners, which privilege none other of the Scottish nobility hath."—The precedency in parliament and the heritable sheriffdom of Aberdeenshire were restored to the family; David fifth Earl of Crawford appears as sheriff in the Exchequer Rolls immediately after his father's death, and, as mentioned in a previous note, they retained the office till near the middle of the sixteenth century.

tion with the Douglasses, the Tiger's power was otherwise but little weakened by his defeat at Brechin; while menaces were thundered against him from Edinburgh, he was not idle in Angus; his forces recruited, he took a terrible revenge on all who had either refused to support, or had deserted him at Brechin, ravaging their lands, destroying their castles, and spreading terror and desolation wherever he went.*

A desultory but bloody warfare was now carried on in the South between the Douglasses and the King, who, after granting various lands to those he wished to attach to his interest, and elevating several barons to the ranks of the nobility, had assembled an army of thirty thousand men, well armed and devoted to his cause. His most powerful supporter was George Earl of Angus, head of a rival branch of the House of Douglas, whose siding, on this memorable occasion, with his sovereign against his own clansmen, gave rise to a proverb, allusive to the family complexion of the respective branches, that "the Red Douglas had put down the Black."

It was soon discovered that Earl James, the representative of the swarthy Douglasses, though brave as the doughtiest of his ancestors, wanted their decision of character. Distrustful of his abilities, and conscious that their cause was a bad one, his friends remonstrated with him and recommended submission, but in vain. The consequence was the desertion of so many of his followers, that, on the appearance of the royal army before Douglas Castle, "he found himself compelled to lay down his arms, and to implore, with expressions of deep humility and contrition, that he might be once more restored to favour." The "appointment," or bond, by which this clemency was extended to him is dated the 28th of August, 1452, little more than three months after the battle of Brechin.†

Earl Beardie, meanwhile, in the North—abandoned by many of his allies, and doubting the fidelity of the rest—all hope of successful resistance at an end, and not a chance, save one, remaining of saving his clan and friends from ruin—"tuik

* *Pitscottie*, tom. i. p. 107.—The ancestor of the Southesk family joined in Earl Beardie's rebellion, and Huntley burnt his castle of Kilmaird in consequence. *Forfarshire Illustrated*, p. 87.

† Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*, tom. iv. p. 112.

purpose," says Pitscottie, "to humble himself," and deliver himself up to the King as an expiation for those who had been misled by him. "Sa, when the King was passing to the North land, coming through Angus," in April the following year, six months after the submission of Douglas,* "the Earl of Crawford came bare-headed and bare-footed to the King, clad as he had been ane miserable caitiff, guilty of ane crime, accused in judgment, dolorous and in poor arrayment, to move the judges and magistrates to commiseration and pity;† and sa, accompanied with ane small number of folks, sad, with dreary countenance, cast him in the King's gate. But fra hand (forthwith) he came before the King's Grace with tears bursting forth abundantly, and fell on his knees; whilk being shewn to the King what man it was, and wha they were in his company, and that the Earl confidit meikle in the King's clemency, wherein he had placed his haill hope of restitution—then moved but (without) ony fear or dreadour, pat himself in his Grace's will and mercy—the King bade raise him up to see wherefore he came, all fear and dreadour set aside."

His speech is given at length by the chronicler,—the safety of his followers lay nearer his rough but warm heart than his own. "I regard not my own person," said he, "in no manner of way, and therefore it is content to me to underlie what punishment you please, either to be hangit, to be riven with wild beasts, to be drowned, or cassen (cast) ower ane craig. For it is neither the fearful enduring (suffering) of my dearest spouse, nor the greeting (weeping) of my bairns, nor the lamentable sobbing of my friends, nor the hership (plundering) of my lands, that moves me sa meikle as the decay and falling of our House, and lamentable chance and fortune of the noblemen of Angus, with the rest of my adherents, whose lives, lands, and guids stands in danger for my cause and surname of Lindsay. Have compassion on the noblemen that consentit to my faction, that they, at the least, be not spoilzied (spoiled) of their lives and heritages for my offence."

"When the Earl had thus endit, the noble and gentle men of

* His death, in september 1453 (*Auch. Chron.*, p. 51), took place in the sixth month after his restoration. *Pitscottie*, tom. i. p. 124.

† It was customary, in those days of almost childlike susceptibility, for culprits thus to present themselves before their judges.

Angus, that came in his company to seek remission, held up their hands to the King maist dolorously, crying, 'Mercy!' while (till) their sobbing and sighing cuttit the words that almaist their prayers could not be understood; through the whilk there raise sic ruth and pity among the company, that nane almaist could contain themselves from tears."*

The King, in short—at the intercession of Huntley and Kennedy, with whom Crawford had privately been reconciled, and by whose advice he had devised this singular interview—moved, moreover, by the same mingling feelings of policy, pity, and self-reproach, which had induced him to extend the hand of pardon to the fallen Douglas—frankly forgave them on the spot, saying he wished neither for their "lands, lives, guids, nor geir," but for their "hearts and friendship,"—and he gained both from that moment. Their chief, delighted with the King's kindness, and "glorying in his happy adventure," endeavoured afterwards to do him all the service he possibly could. Before he left Angus, he joined him with a chosen company of the chivalry of the county, and, having escorted him in his farther progress, returned with him to Finhaven, where he entertained his royal guest and his train with princely hospitality,—"promising faithfully to be ready with all his forces to fecht aganes the conjured enemies of this realm where and whenever it pleased the King's Majesty."* King James had, however, sworn, in his wrath, a solemn oath "to make the highest stone of Finhaven the lowest;" he went up to the roof of the castle and threw down to the ground a stone which was lying loose on one of the battlements, thus accomplishing his vow, if not in the spirit, strictly to the letter. In Godscroft's time, nearly two hundred years afterwards, this stone was still preserved at Finhaven, secured with an iron chain.† And a farm, it may be added, about a mile west of Finhaven, has ever since borne the name of Revel Green, in memory, it is said, of the festivities that took place on this joyful occasion.‡

After his reconciliation with the King, Earl Beardie's whole character changed; from being the wildest of the wild chiefs of the North he "gave over all kind of tyranny, and became ane

* *Boethius*, fol. 376, verso; *Pitscottie*, tom. i. p. 123. This was in June, 1453.

† *Godscroft*, p. 200.

‡ Information from the Rev. Harry Stuart, of Finhaven.

faithful subject, and sicker targe (sure shield) to the King and his subjects. At the last, in this manner being reconciliet and set at quietness and rest, his friends and all others, as appeared, being also in great tranquillity, fortune, that suffers na thing to remain long stable, but all things subject to ruin and decay, leaning upon ane bruckle (brittle) staff, tholed (suffered) not the happy estate of this man long to continue; for in the sext month after his restitution he tuik the hot fever, and died in the year of God ane thousand, four hundreth, fifty-four years, and wes buried with great triumph * in the Grey Friars' of Dundee, in his forebears' (ancestors') sepulchre."†

Tradition, however, has forgotten his repentance; and the Tiger Earl is believed to be still playing at "the de'il's buiks" in a mysterious chamber in Glamis Castle, of which no one now knows the entrance—doomed to play there till the end of time. He was constantly losing, it is said, when one of his companions advising him to give up the game—"Never," cried he, "till the day of judgment!" The Evil One instantly appeared, and both chamber and company vanished. No one has since discovered them, but in the stormy nights, when the winds howl drearily around the old castle, the stamps and curses of the doomed gamesters may still, it is said, be heard mingling with the blast.‡

Earl Beardie's history, I need not observe, is full of meaning,—his character exhibiting the harsher outlines of feudalism, yet not altogether without redeeming features; Bishop Kennedy, on the other hand, his antagonist throughout his career, representing, as I above remarked, the power of the Church leagued with the State to enforce order and bridle licence. That career embraces the period of about seven years after the battle of Arbroath,—his general prosperity during those seven years, and their disas-

* "Regiâ prope pompâ" are the words of Boethius, fol. 376, verso.

† *Boeth., loco cit.; Pitscottie*, tom. i. p. 124.—"Item, the year of God 1453, in the month of September, diêt Alexander Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, in Fiseryn,—that was callit a rigorous man and ane fellown, (fierce,) and held ane great rowme (space) in his time, for he held all Angus in his bandoun,[a] and was right inobedient to the King." *Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 51.

‡ Chambers' *Picture of Scotland*, tom. ii. p. 231.

[a] *In bandoun* may signify, authoritatively, "as if he had actually been their sovereign."—*Jamieson*, in voce.

trous termination, might have suggested in those days a compact with the devil, retarding, but finally yielding to the effect of the excommunication pronounced by Bishop Kennedy, and which had brought every one of them on whom it had been imprecated, except himself, to the dust.

By his wife, Elizabeth Dunbar, who survived him for nearly half a century,* Earl Beardie left two sons, minors, David fifth Earl of Crawford, created Duke of Montrose by James III., and Sir Alexander of Auchtermonzie, who inherited that barony from his mother,† and long afterwards, when an old man, after the death of his grand-nephew, Earl John, at Flodden, succeeded as seventh Earl of Crawford.

Earl Beardie left a daughter also, Lady Elizabeth Lindsay, wife of John the first Lord Drummond, and ancestress of the unhappy Darnley, father, by Mary Queen of Scots, of James I. of Great Britain.

* She was still living in 1496, as appears by a document cited in the *Crawford Case*, p. 49. She had become the wife of Sir William Wallace of Craigie in 1478. *Acta Dom. Auditorum*, p. 75.

† Sir Alexander differenced his arms by assuming a rose, the well-known badge of the Dunbars Earls of March, in the centre of the Crawford coat, as proved by his seal appended to ancient charters, *Crawford Case*, p. 178.—He and his family resumed the simple Crawford arms on succeeding to the Earldom.—"The marks of cadency," adds Mr. Fiddell, "used at present for younger sons, the crescent, star, martlet, &c., were comparatively but modern, and far more common in England than in Scotland, where other brisures, mostly derived from France, including the bordure, served for the purpose."

CHAPTER VII.

"He is past, he is gone, like the blast of the wind,
And has left but the fame of his exploits behind;
And now wild is the sorrow and deep is the wail,
As it sweeps from Glenesk to the far Wauchopdale.

Bright star of the morning, that beamed on the brow
Of our chief of ten thousand, O where art thou now?
The sword of our fathers is cankered with rust,
And the race of Clan Lindsay is bowed to the dust."

EARL CRAWFORD'S CORONACH.

SECTION I.

It was under David, fifth Earl of Crawford, that the Lindsays rose to their highest power in Scotland. In a charter, dated the 27th of February, 1458-9, I find some obscure but remarkable hints relative to his early history. He grants Herbert Johnstone of Dalibank, ancestor of the house of Westerhall, the lands of Gleneybank, with the office of baillie of the regality of Kirkmichael, in Dumfriesshire, "for his faithful service at the time when he was held a captive by the late James Earl of Douglas, and chiefly for the liberation and aduction of his person from captivity and from the hands of the said Earl."* This, as suggested by an able historical critic,† probably took place on a second rebellion of James Earl of Douglas, soon extinguished, in March, 1454.

The principal friend of his youth, however, seems to have been Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie, afterwards his "familiar squire," and whom he ever regarded with peculiar affection and kindness. On renewing his charters, between twenty and thirty years after his accession, he grants him additional lands "for his faithful service and constant attentions," paid to him "gratuitor

* *Regist. Mag. Sigilli.*
† Mr. MacGregor Stirling, *MS. Collections.*

et multipliciter," from his youth upwards.* I cannot but attribute much of what was noble, loyal, and self-devoted in Earl David's after career to the influence of this gallant gentleman, who stood by his side, immoveable as a rock, in the darkest moment of his fortunes. The Fotheringhams, I should add, were always closely allied in blood and friendship with the House of Crawford, and the hereditary regard has manifested itself most kindly to our behoof in the present generation.

But Earl David's immediate "tutor," or legal guardian during his minority, was his paternal uncle, Walter Lindsay,—that office being assigned in Scotland, in default of other testamentary provision, to the next of kin on the father's side. Lord of Beaufort and the Aird, in Invernesshire, and of Glenesk, Ferne, Edzell, Kinblythemont, and Panbride, in Angus,† Walter was a powerful baron, of great talent and unscrupulous ambition. His mother, the Countess Marjory, resembled him in these qualities, and seems to have stood ever at his side, as his prompter and abetter. An Ogilvie herself, her whole energies would appear to have been directed to depress her kindred and elevate the House of Crawford on their ruin. Bonds of the most singular nature are extant by which her nephew, Alexander Ogilvie of Auchterhouse, the chief of her race and hereditary Sheriff of Angus, delivers himself up, apparently on no ground of fatuity or incapacity, to the absolute keeping, disposal, and "governance" in person, office, and estate, of Walter and his mother, on a pledge by Walter to defend him against all the world "at my goodly power, like as I wald help, supply, maintain, or defend my Lord my brother's son, my Lady my moder, or my own heritage."‡

* Charter, 16 July, 1481; confirmed 13 Jan. 1481-2. *Reg. M. Sig.*

† For the charters establishing his successive territorial aggrandisement, (from the Haigh Muniment-room,) see Mr. Riddell's *Crawford Case*, pp. 147 sqq.—His original patrimony was the barony of Stradhaairn, in the North, the dowry of the Princess Catherine, his great-grandmother, but, owing to the disturbed state of that district, rendering it difficult to deal with, the Crawford family resumed it, and gave him Ferne, in Angus, in exchange. His son Sir David, like himself, is usually styled "of Beaufort," but he ultimately parted with that property and with the Aird, (estates now engrossed in those of Lord Lovat and the Chisholms,) and concentrated himself in Angus.—Walter assumed as his heraldic difference a star in the centre of the Crawford coat, as already noticed.

‡ No-arial Exemplification, 4 Jan. 1460, in the Haigh Muniment-room, reciting the bonds alluded to. Extracts from the principal one, dated 9 March, 1458-9, are printed in the Appendix, No. XIV.

And the transactions between them close with the resignation of the Sheriffdom by Alexander of Auchterhouse, and its transfer hereditarily to Earl David, by a solemn deed executed "in capellâ Palatii Domini Comitis Craufurdie," infra burgum de Dundie," 2 September, 1469, and in which Alexander's daughter, Margaret Ogilvie, Countess of Buchan, and her husband, also, by separate deeds, concur.*†—Marjory must however have had endearing qualities to balance those of more masculine character; Earl David unquestionably bore her a deep affection,—twice, during his life, he founded perpetual masses for her soul, and on the latter occasion he speaks of her as his "grandam of haly memor," as if her latter days had been passed in the odour of sanctity. Possibly I may have wronged her—but the circumstances of her earlier life would seem to tell against her.

Walter, I may add, was succeeded in course of time by his eldest son, Sir David of Beaufort, who first assumed the style of Edzell from the capital messuage of his barony of Ferne, and who became the ancestor of the Lindsays of Edzell and Glenesk, of whom the Earls of Balcarres were originally the latest branch, and are now the representatives. Their ancient residence, the Castle of Edzell, now a mouldering ruin, but still magnificent in decay, is one of the many "chiefless castles" of the Lindsays scattered over Scotland wherever they dwelt, and

"breathing stern farewells
From grey but leafy walls, where ruin greenly dwells."

Contemporary with Walter, and indeed with his father and grandfather, flourished the venerable John Lord Lindsay of the Byres, whom I have mentioned as a hostage for King James I. in 1424, and who had been elevated to the dignity of a Lord of Parliament in 1445,‡—a dignity then novel and peculiar in Scotland, as distinguished from the baronage; the system adopted in England, in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., of making a distinction between the great body of the barons and the few summoned to attend in parliament—the latter forming (with the Earls) exclusively the peerage—not having been introduced into

* In the chapel of St. Michael within the town-residence, more usually styled the Earl's Lodging, at Dundee, described *supra*, p. 110.

† Documents in the Charter-room at Lord Gray, at Kinfauns.

‡ *Scotichronicon*, tom. ii. p. 348.

the sister country till 1587.* John Lord Lindsay held the High Justiciarship of the North of Scotland for many years,† and presided in that capacity, in association with Walter Lindsay of Beaufort, acting as Sheriff of Aberdeenshire during his nephew Earl David's minority, in the solemn assize, or justice-ayre, held in the tolbooth at Aberdeen, on the 5th of November, 1457,‡ when James II. appeared in person before them to claim the Earldom of Marr, attended by the Chancellor, Constable, Marischal, and other high officers of state, and a splendid train of nobles and courtiers,—perhaps the most solemn occasion on which either Justiciary or Sheriff ever sat in judgment—while that judgment, which reaffirmed the exclusion of the House of Erskine from their hereditary and rightful honours, was, there can be no doubt, wilfully or ignorantly, unjust. It is not unworthy of remark that Ingelram de Lindsay, the venerable Bishop of Aberdeen, great-uncle of Walter and great-grand-uncle of the youthful Earl David, withheld the sanction of his presence from what he must have deemed a scene of splendid oppression.

Ingelram Bishop of Aberdeen was a bright contrast to the Earl Beardies and Walters of Beaufort I have so lately introduced to you. He had been in holy orders for some years before 1424,§ attended the Council of Basle, as "familiar presbyter and acolyte of our most holy father, the Pope," Eugene IV., in 1434,‖ and was preferred to the see of Aberdeen on the death of Bishop Henry Leighton in December, 1440.¶ He was then old, infirm, and in bad health, and one Alexander, who had expected to have been advanced to that bishopric, resolved, as one of his biographers expresses it, "to trick him handsomely out of his life, not doubt-

* *Vide supra*, p. 57. Lords Forbes, Somerville, Gray, Saltoun, Sinclair, &c., of the Scottish peerage, are but imperfectly described as Barons—that title, though recently disused, being common to all the landed proprietors, or lairds, holding of the Crown, North of the Tweed.

† Between the years 1457 and 1466. *Chart. Dunfermline*, pp. 343, 354.

‡ Attestation of proceedings of that date among the Marr charters preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh; and Retour of Inquest relative thereto, same date, also in the Register House. *Information from Joseph Robertson, Esq.*

§ Record of parliament held at Perth, 26 May, 1424. Robertson's *Parl. Records*, p. 10.

‖ Safe-conduct, 10 March, 1434. *Rot. Scot.*, tom. ii. p. 286.

¶ Ingelram Bishop of Aberdeen sat in the parliament held at Stirling in February, 1442. *Acts Parl.*, tom. ii. p. 58.

ing that he would be preferred next;"* and the method he took was, to calumniate him by evil reports at Rome, expecting probably that the pain and annoyance of the consequent investigations would speedily despatch him. Ingelram, however, learning the treachery that had been practised, started at once for Italy, crossed France, embarked at Marseilles, and after twelve days' voyage reached Rome, where Eugene, his former friend and patron, received him with the utmost kindness, and, on hearing his vindication, fully confirmed him in his see. He spent some months at Rome in services of piety, and then returned by land to Scotland,—but so far from dying of the fatigue of the journey, as his enemies had expected, he arrived at Aberdeen in better health than when he left it, and lived there in a green old age, and "ruling the affairs of the Church very wisely," for nineteen years longer, during which he was universally beloved. He died on the 24th of August, 1459, as would appear from his obitus having been celebrated on that day, according to the records of the cathedral.†

"Bishop Lindsay," says Spotswood, "was a man constant in his promises, of a spare diet, but very hospitable, for he entertained great numbers both of learned men and others, especially the eldest sons of noblemen and barons in the North parts,‡ and notwithstanding of his age and public employments, was ever at study when he could find any free time from those cares. A little before his death he fell in the King's displeasure for denying admission to some whom the King had presented to certain benefices, for that they were mere ignorants or for their years incapable. But this did not much trouble his mind, as being no way conscious to himself of any just offence offered." The citizens and matrons of Aberdeen, "who loved him dearly," shed tears of sorrow as they kissed his dead body, and afterwards bore it to the grave—"such reverence," exclaims Boethius, "attended Ingelram both living and dead!"

* Mackenzie's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, tom. ii. p. 458.

† *Regist. Episc. Aberdon.*, tom. ii. p. 203.—His anniversary, however, was celebrated on the 17th of November, *ibid.*, p. 220. The anniversary and obitus were, in fact, occasionally distinct services—the obitus being invariably performed on the day of the actual demise of the person commemorated, the anniversary a more special ceremony appointed on a different day.

‡ "Exemplis optimis tenera imbuit pectora." *Boeth.*

He was buried in the choir of the cathedral, which he had "marvellously ornamented," and his effigy was sculptured on his tomb.*

Besides other theological works, he left an unfinished commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, "which he regarded," says Boethius, "with such love and reverence that he had learnt them by heart, and constantly carried them in his bosom." He also founded an ecclesiastical college, and enacted certain statutes for its government, which were confirmed by his successor, and are printed in Mr. Kennedy's history of the "brave town of Aberdeen."†

Five years before his death, considering, as he says, "that we shall all stand, as saith the Apostle, before the judgment-seat of Our Lord Jesus Christ, to receive as we have done in the body, whether good or evil, and thus willing, with God's assistance, to amplify the worship of Holy Mother Church, to the honour of God the Omnipotent and of the Blessed Virgin"—he settled his Lordship of Westhale in the Garioch, which had been given him by King James II., on the Cathedral of Aberdeen, for the maintenance of a chaplain to celebrate mass in the Cathedral Church "for the souls of the King and his Queen-consort Lady Mary, for his own soul, and for that of David II., of good memory, Earl of Crawford," who had been slain at Arbroath,—the said chaplain paying therefrom to the chaplains serving in the choir of the cathedral the sum of forty shillings yearly, for the special celebration of the anniversaries respectively of himself (the Bishop) and of Earl David, on the morrow after the octaves of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, that is to say, on the 24th of August, and on the 17th of January, thenceforth and for ever.‡

* "Bishop Ingelram was a liberal benefactor to the Church. Many donations of his are on record in the inventories of the cathedral treasury. He put a stone roof on the cathedral, and laid the pavement; and added the churches of Rothwen and Monimask to the number of prebends." Mr. Innes's *Preface to the Regist. Episc. Aberd.*, tom. i. p. xxxviii.

† Boethii *Episc. Murthlacens. et Aberdon. Vitæ*, edit. 1522, fol. 11 verso; Spotswood's *Hist. Church of Scotland*, p. 104; Kennedy's *Hist. of Aberdeen*, tom. ii. p. 2,—and Mr. Innes's *Preface to the Regist. Episc. Aberd.*, ut supra.

‡ Dated 16 Sept. 1454, *Reg. Episc. Aberdon.*, tom. i. p. 264; *Collections, Hist. of Aberdenshire*, tom. ii. pp. 260, 265.—Contemporary with Bishop Ingelram lived Jerome Lindesy, Doctor of Civil Law, and a Franciscan, and said (on insufficient

SECTION II.

The same year that Bishop Ingelram died, the ward and marriage of his youthful nephew Earl David was granted to James Lord Hamilton,* whose daughter, Elizabeth, he seems to have then married, though only in his eighteenth year.† In November, 1461, he was allowed by special dispensation to enter into possession of Crawford-Lindsay, his barony in Lanarkshire,‡ but his minority only fully expired in 1462, when the final "compt and reckoning" took place between himself and his uncle, Walter of Beaufort."§

The career of James II. had in the mean while come to an end. He was killed by the bursting of a cannon, while pressing the siege of Roxburgh, in 1460. His successor, James III., being but a child, the Queen-mother immediately assumed the government, under the guidance and advice of the wise and patriotic Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews. The Chamberlainship was given to Lord Evandale, the High Justiciarship to Lord Boyd, and the custody of the Privy Seal was confirmed to Mr. James Lindsay, who had held that office since 1452,‖—a personage in

authority) to have been a brother of the House of Crawford, *Scotia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 553, by Father Hay, who adds that he "Pertheuse cœnobium fundavit, . . . Olipfanto Domino mirâ devotione impensas administrante. Floruit 1452."—Dempster cites his works, *Hist. Eccles.*, tom. ii. p. 445; but these authorities are very apocryphal.

* By charter, penult. Feb. 1458-9. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*

† This seems in fact to have been the average age at which they married in those times—at least in the Crawford family. The date of the birth of David first Earl of Crawford may be fixed in 1366, the charter of Glenesk being granted by Catherine Sörling in 1393,—and David the fifth Earl, his great-great-grandson, was born in 1440.—"One of the most remarkable social characteristics of the middle ages," observes Sir E. Lytton Bulwer, "is the prematurity at which the great arrived at manhood, shared in its passions, and indulged its ambitions." *Last of the Barons*, tom. ii. p. 82.—Compare the description of Earl Beardie in the 'Fair Maid of Perth,' as "a lad of fifteen with the deep passions and fixed purpose of a man of thirty,"—and "bearing on his brow, while scarcely beyond the years of boyhood, the deep impression of early thought and premature passion."

‡ Retour in the Charter-room of Sir George Warrender, Bart., *Crawford Case*, p. 50.

§ *Crawford Case*, p. 51.

‖ He appears as "Clericus Rotulorum et Registri Domini Regis" in the *Chamberlain Rolls*, 4 Jan. 1451, tom. iii. p. 374,—but always afterwards as "Secreti Sigilli Custos."

whom, as Baron of Covington in Clydesdale, Provost and Minister of the Abbey or Collegiate Church of Lincluden, and the most familiar confidant and councillor of the Queen,* the feudal, ecclesiastical, and political characters were strangely blended.† The government was carried on with firmness and wisdom till the death of Kennedy in May, 1466, when the family of Boyd suddenly rose into power, possessed themselves of the King's person, and engrossed the management of affairs.

Earl David supported this revolution,‡ probably through the influence of his father-in-law Hamilton. His first prepossessions were certainly on the side of the aristocracy against the Crown, and this may be accounted for to a certain degree by a circumstance personal to himself, independently of traditional example and of the prejudices of his order.

* *Auchinleck Chron.*, p. 22; Tytler, *Hist.*, tom. iv. p. 188.

† The Provost of Lincluden is to be distinguished from his contemporary James, Canon and Dean of Glasgow, mentioned in a note, *supra*, p. 101. The key to this distinction lies in the facts, that James Lindsay was served heir of his father Sir John Lindsay, "quondam Domini de Cowarstoun," 14 July, 1434,—that James Lindsay of Covington, still a layman, witnesses a charter by William Earl of Douglas to Patrick Hepburn, 29 June, 1444,—and that Mr. James Lindsay, a priest, is instituted parson of Douglas by John Bishop of Glasgow, 2 June, 1443, the year previous, and must consequently be a different person. I may refer to the Appendix, No. XV., for some notices of the Provost, and shall only state here that he held the privy seal till his death in 1468, when John Lindsay of Covington was served his heir. The last document in which he figures is a bond or agreement between the Earls of Argyle, Arran, &c. "anent the governance of the King's person" and for mutual assistance, which is subscribed by "The Preve Sele Lyndsay," 15 April, 1468. *Abbotsford Club Miscellany*, tom. i. p. 7.*—He was dead before 17 Jan. 1468–9 following, when his brother, John Lindsay of Covington, was infeft as his heir.—The 'Auchinleck Chronicle,' I may add, speaks unfavourably of the Provost,[b] but much mystery seems to rest on his history and character.

‡ Bond, 10 Feb. 1465, cited by Tytler, *Hist.*, tom. iv. pp. 203, 208.

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* "Jacobus Lindesay, filius Johannis de Lindesay de Covinton," appears in the list of incorporated or matriculated members of the University and College of Glasgow, in the archives of the University and College, on the 4th October, 1467. This would seem to prove that the Provost had died, and his brother John succeeded him, before that date. If so, the "Preve Sele Lyndsay" of 15 April, 1468, must have been a different individual—possibly the Dean of Glasgow.

[b] "Item, the said Queen, efter the deid (death) of King James II., tuk Master James Lyndesay for principal counsaler, and gart (made) him keep the privy seal, notwithstanding that the said Master James was excludit fra the counsel of the forenamit King and fra the court, and for his very helynes, and had been dula for his demerits, had not been he was redeemit with gold." *Auch. Chron.*, p. 22.—"The word 'helynes,'" observes Dr. Jamieson, "is evidently used in a bad sense; but what that is must be left undetermined. Perhaps it may signify duplicity,—*Teut.* heel, subtilis." *Supp. Scottish Dict.*

Many years previously, on his return from England in 1424, James I. had reclaimed the annuities hereditarily paid to many noble families out of the Great Customs of the kingdom, admitting of no exception unless where rights could be established by proper charter or other evidence. The claim proved futile, at least as regarded the Crawford family, and the annuities continued to be drawn as usual, and apparently without challenge, till the death of Earl Beardie and the minority of his son. The first payment from the customs of Aberdeen subsequently to that period seems to have taken place unopposed, but in 1457 the King sent an angry mandate to the Customer, or chief officer of the customs, bidding him discontinue it, and tore the precept or warrant, offered in the usual manner for his signature, with his own hands.* The remembrance of this was not likely to enhance Earl David's early loyalty,—and the futility of the interference must have aroused his contempt, for the pension, after possibly a brief intermission, was still paid, and continued to be paid till the close (at least) of the sixteenth century.†

Be this as it may, the ambition and tyranny of the Boyds soon disgusted their friends; a counter conspiracy was organized, in which Earl David was a party,‡—they fell, and the House of Hamilton rose on their ruin.

Earl David now rose daily in power and influence. He obtained a grant from King James in 1472 of the lordships of Brechin and Navar for life,§ which, joined to the Sheriffdom of Angus and the possession of the Castle of Brichty, the key of Forfarshire, always annexed to it,‖ made him absolute in that county,—he was appointed to the responsible post of Keeper of Berwick in July,

* See the extract from the 'Chamberlain Rolls,' a curious one on many accounts, in the Appendix, No. XVI. The royal intervention would seem to have taken place on the occasion of the visit of King James to Aberdeen to claim the Earldom of Marr.

† Family entails of 1546, 1589, and later,—and public accounts during that period,—see *e. g. Crawford Case*, p. 77.

‡ Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, tom. iv. p. 225.

§ Charter, 9 March, 1472-3, *Reg. M. Sig.*

‖ In later times at least, and probably at the time alluded to. But Sir Alexander Lindsay of Glenesk had obtained a charter of Brichty from Richard de Monte Alto, Lord of Ferne, to himself and the heirs-male of his body, and with substitutions in favour of Sir William of the Byres and Sir James of Crawford, 20 Dec. 1379,—now preserved in the Fotheringham Charter-chest.

1473, for three years,* and in May, 1476, to that of High Admiral of Scotland, on the rebellion of the Earl of Ross, MacDonald of the Isles,† and for twenty years he was employed in almost every embassy or public negotiation that took place between England and his native country.‡ He was indeed well qualified to represent his nation in foreign climes, being princely in all his dealings. His magnificence was unbounded,—his squires, armour-bearers, chamberlains, and chaplains occur repeatedly in the Great Seal record;§ his heralds, the appendage of sovereignty, are mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls, and as having exchanged their earlier name "Endure" for "Lyndesay,"‖—the former having apparently either suggested, or been adopted from the motto or "posie" of the family, "Endure fort!"—while in the midst of all

* For three years, from 17 July, 1473. *Reg. M. Sig.*—"The key in the mouth of the ostrich, the ancient crest of his family, seems to allude to his being Governor of Berwick." *Mr. MacGregor Stirling.*

† *Buchanan*, lib. xii. cap. 36.—The King intended to co-operate with him by land. Alarmed at such formidable preparations, MacDonald made his submission.

‡ See the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, passim, from 1465 to 1485.—One picturesque scene in which he figured, the betrothment of the Princess Cecilia, youngest daughter of Edward IV., to the Prince Royal of Scotland, is thus described by Mr. Tytler, as "a curious illustration of the formality of feudal manners."—"On the 26th of October, [1474,] David Lindsay Earl of Crawford, Lord John Scrope, knight of the garter, along with the Chancellor Evandale, the Earl of Argyle, and various English commissioners and gentlemen, assembled in the Low Greyfriars' church at Edinburgh. The Earl of Crawford then came forward, and, declaring to the meeting that he appeared as procurator for an illustrious prince, the Lord James, by the grace of God King of Scots, demanded that the notarial letters, which gave him full powers in that character to contract the espousals between Prince James, first-born son of the said King, and heir to the throne, and the Princess Cecilia, daughter to an excellent prince, Lord Edward, King of England, should be read aloud to the meeting. On the other side, Lord Scrope made the same declaration and demand; and these preliminaries being concluded, the Earl of Crawford, taking Lord Scrope by the hand, solemnly, and in presence of the assembled parties, plighted his faith that his dread lord, the King of Scotland, and father of Prince James, would bestow his son in marriage upon the Princess Cecilia of England, when both the parties had arrived at the proper age. Lord Scrope, having then taken the Scottish Earl by the right hand, engaged, and, in the same solemn terms, plighted his faith for his master, King Edward of England. After which the conditions of the treaty upon which the espousals took place were arranged by the respective commissioners of the two countries, with an enlightened anxiety for their mutual welfare." *Hist. Scot.*, tom. iv. p. 242.

§ *Vide supra*, p. 114.

‖ In an Exchequer Roll for 1460 there is mention of the "signifer," or pursuivant, "Comitis Craufurdie," and in a later roll, for 1464, a payment is made "Endure, Signifero, nunc Lyndesay heraldo nuncupato."—He seems to have been

this, he seems, from the style he occasionally adopted, like his father,* to have laid far more stress on his personal quality as a knight, than on the hereditary distinctions to which he had been born.† And so far as can be ascertained, he was not undeserving of these high honours. He was kind to his dependants and followers, liberal to the Church, and loyal to his sovereign,—and the historian Boethius, his contemporary, sums up his character, in anticipation of what he intended to write of him had his work been finished, in few but emphatic words, as "inter optimos principes quos nostra ætas vidit jure commemorandus."‡

Earl David made a new entail of the family estates in 1474, settling them on his heirs-male for ever,—an important document, as it regulated the succession for many generations afterwards,§—and mortified lands, for his own soul and for those of his ancestors, in the Cathedral of Brechin,‖ and for his grandmother the Countess Marjory, as above mentioned, and for James III., in the church of Meigle in Perthshire,¶ nearly about the same time.

The state of the country, meanwhile, and the character of the King demand our attention. Ever since the death of Kennedy the nobles had been regaining their power, and feuds, whether

the first of the nobility upon whom the honour of having a herald was conferred in Scotland,—at least, there are no earlier notices of such.

* *Vide supra*, p. 134.

† An observation of Mr. MacGregor Stirling, in his MS. Collections. He cites, in illustration of it, the designation of Earl David, in his safe-conduct as ambassador to England, with other magnates, 6 March, 1471-2, as "David Lyndesay, Earl of Crafurth, Knight,"—adding that "from a variety of circumstances, as illustrated in the 'Rotuli' and the 'Fœdera,' it seems inferrible that in many instances the persons to whom the Kings of England gave safe-conducts had a choice of the styles under which they were to pass."—Similarly, the anniversary of his grandfather, Earl David, was founded by Ingelram de Lindesay, Bishop of Aberdeen, "pro animâ Davidis Lyndesay, militis, et Comitis Cranfurde." *Regist. Episc. Aberd.*, tom. ii. p. 211.

‡ *Boeth.*, fol. 379 verso.

§ Royal charter, 6 Dec. 1474,—in the Haigh Charter-room. Printed at length in the *Miscellanea of Biddesse, Crawford Claim*, p. 134.

‖ April 3, 1472. *Charter-chest of the town of Brechin.*

¶ April 25, confirmed 16 May, 1474. *Reg. M. Sig.*

* In England, however, George Dunbar, the celebrated Earl of March, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, had a pursuivant, under the title of "Mar-conbury," a proud distinction, evidently derived from his so signally conducing to the victory obtained against Hotspur and his adherents, which fixed Henry IV. upon the throne. *Information from Mr. Riddell.*

old or new, broke out in all directions. That between the Houses of Crawford and Glamis, now of nearly a century's standing, would have slept probably during Earl David's lifetime, but his son Alexander, the Master of Crawford, a mere stripling, revived it, and with such violence as to require the interference of parliament, in 1478.* The King, devoted to music and the fine arts, making their professors his associates to the exclusion of his nobles, neglecting public business, and endowed with no military genius, was little able to bridle his haughty barons, who scorned the intellectual exercises he delighted in as unchivalrous and unmanly, and attached themselves by preference to his brother Albany, a man of specious manners and accomplished in all knightly exercises, but utterly unprincipled. A conspiracy was at last organized between Albany, Angus, and various discontented nobles on the one hand, and Edward IV. on the other, to dethrone the King and instal Albany in his place, to hold the Crown as the vassal of England.† Its ulterior object, however, was studiously concealed from the greater number of the nobles who engaged in it.‡ The first act of the conspiracy was the destruction of the "minions" whom James patronized, and in especial of Cochrane, an architect, on whom he had bestowed the revenues of the Earldom of Marr. James had summoned his barons to march against England; they assembled at Lauder, but only to seize these unfortunate men, hang them on the bridge, convey their sovereign under constraint to Edinburgh, and then dismiss their army. Crawford had been one of the purifiers, as they termed it, of the royal council.§ But no sooner did Angus darkly broach

* March 6, 1478. *Acts Parl.*, tom. ii. p. 122.

† The treaty between King Edward and "Alexander," as he styles himself, "King of Scotland, be the gift of the King of England," may be seen in *Rymer*, tom. xii. p. 156.—The Duke binds himself, in return for Edward's assistance in obtaining the Crown, to do homage and fealty for it within six months, "in sic wise as other Kings of Scotland, whilk had friendly intelligence with the realm of England, haif done in our zeir (year) past to the King of England,"—in evident revival of the ancient claims which had been surrendered in 1328,—to yield the town and castle of Berwick to England,—to break the alliance with France, and be governed by English counsels in future,—and finally, "gif the said Alexander can mak himself clear fro all other women, according to the laws of Christian Church, within ane zeir next ensuing, *or* sooner," to marry "my Lady Cecile," Edward's daughter, "and gif he cannot sa clear him," to marry his son and heir, "gif our sic shall be," to a lady of the blood-royal of England.

‡ *Tytler*, tom. iv. p. 274. § *Pitscottie*, tom. i. p. 160.

the idea of deposing the King, than he scouted it with indignation,—the better spirits stood instantly apart, and a party rallied round their sovereign, which in a short while overthrew Albany and his faction. Earl David, already for some time past Master of the Household,* was appointed Lord Chamberlain on this revolution.†

A great change now manifested itself in the King's character. The bitter lesson he had learnt at Lauder was not lost upon him,—he threw off his apathy, his dreams of art and literature, aroused himself to his kingly duties, devoted himself to the administration of justice and suppression of crime, strengthened his interests at home, exhibited a firm face against foreign aggression, secured the attachment of the clergy, the higher nobles, the middle classes, and the great body of the people,‡ and exhibited in short during the remaining years of his reign the picture of a wise and paternal government. The malcontent nobles on the other hand, Angus and his faction, conscious that the King had never forgotten the Raid of Lauder, and that punishment must sooner or later fall on them for their feudal delinquencies, renewed their intrigues with England, and received ample but secret encouragement both from Richard III. and his successor Henry. They adopted the principles and language of the Riverses and Hastingses, the leaders of the revolutionary and anti-feudal movement South of the Tweed—hostile to the great Norman aristocracy,§—proclaimed themselves the champions of law, of liberty, of the people; denounced their King as a tyrant; and crowned their disloyalty by seizing the person of the Prince Royal, poisoning his mind against his father, and dazzling him with the prospect of the Crown. The King on his part saw that things were drawing to a crisis, and both parties mustered all their force against the meeting of parliament in October, 1487.‖

* Witness as such, 10 Oct. 1482. *Reg. M. Sig.*, and *Collections, Hist. Aberdeenshire*, p. 608.—Crawford says he was appointed in 1480, succeeding Lord Borthwik. *Hist. Lindsays*, MS.

† He is witness as Chamberlain, 29 April, 1483,—and as Master of the Household and Chamberlain, repeatedly till the close of the reign. *Reg. M. Sig.*

‡ "They knew," says Pitscottie, of the malcontent barons, "the King to be weill loved of all the commons and boroughs, and specially with the ancient and aged barons of the country." *Chron.*, tom. i. p. 214.

§ See the interesting Dedicatory Epistle to the 'Last of the Barons.'

‖ *Tytler*, tom. iv. pp. 299 *sqq.*

Every provision there passed, every step that James took, indicated his firm determination to be King in Scotland,—and not the least so, his creating his second son Duke of Ross and Marquess of Ormond—thus pointing him out, as it was supposed, as his successor to the throne. Crawford and Huntley were at the same time appointed conjointly High Justiciaries of the North of Scotland, where the royal interest chiefly lay.*

The parliament broke up, but the demon was abroad,—Angus and Argyle, Lords Gray and Drummond, Sir Alexander Home, chief of that powerful border clan, Lord Hailes, the head of the Hepburns, and their associates, broke out into open rebellion, raised the royal standard, and proclaimed war, in the name of the Prince, against their sovereign. The unhappy King, to whom it had been foretold that he should perish by his nearest of kin, now saw this prophecy in the direct course of accomplishment.

The great majority however of the Northern and more powerful nobles were loyal. Many a gay Gordon, many a gallant Graham, and many a light Lindsay came thronging to their sovereign's aid at this hour of need,—but by none was the summons obeyed with more alacrity than by Earl David of Crawford and David Lord Lindsay of the Byres, son and successor of Lord John, the Justiciary, a true-hearted veteran, famous in the foreign wars, who appeared at the trysting-place at the head of the chivalry and commons of Fifeshire, as his chief did at the head of those of Angus,—their united forces forming a gallant body of six thousand foot and two thousand horse, loyal as their leaders, and "all ready to wair (expend) their lives with them in the King's defence."† Lord Lindsay, in particular, exhorted the King to be of good courage and advance boldly against the enemy. He was riding upon "ane great grey courser," of remarkable spirit and beauty; alighting, and making his obeisance to his sovereign, he begged his acceptance of the noble animal, which, he said, had he ado to flee or follow, advance or retreat, "would waur (beat) all the horse of Scotland at his pleasure, if he would sit well,"—a gift which was thought ominous at the time, and had a consequence little anticipated by the faithful baron. "So the

* Jan. 11, 1487–8, *Acts Parl.*, vol. ii. p. 182.

† *Pitscottie*, tom. i. p. 216.

King," says Pitscottie, "accepted of the horse, and thanked him greatly." *

Thirty thousand men, in all, being assembled, the King displayed his banner, and advanced against his son and the rebel nobles, encamped at Blackness, near Linlithgow. A desertion there took place on the King's side, of the Earls of Marischal and Errol, Lord Glamis, and some others, who retired to their estates. A pacification ensued †— too lenient on the part of the King, who was still the stronger party, but averse to bloodshed, and, it would almost seem, unmanned and cut to the heart by his son's treason—and he disbanded his army.

He proceeded to reward the friends who had remained true to him by honours and estates. No man had deserved more nobly of him than the Earl of Crawford, and he accordingly created him Duke of Montrose — by charter under the Great Seal, dated the 18th of May, 1488, narrating his loyalty and the manifold acceptable services which "Our faithful and most dear cousin, David Earl of Crawford and Lord Lindsay, hath done unto us with unwearied good will"—inasmuch as "he hath freely and often exposed himself and his nobles and vassals for the defence of our person and Crown, and more especially of late, against those faithless lieges convened against the royal standard and majesty at Blackness"—in return for which service, the King adds, as well as for future deserts, "being willing that the said David, our cousin, should shine with more ample dignity, we have, of our certain wisdom, plenitude of power, and special grace, elevated, made, and created, and, by the tenor of this present charter, do elevate, make, and create him a Duke—to be entitled and designated, in perpetual future times, Duke, hereditarily, of Montrose."—The grant conveys to the Duke and his heirs, after the invariable feudal rule of connecting titles of dignity with land, the castle and borough of Montrose, with its customs and fisheries, and the lordship of Kineleven, in Perthshire, the dowry of the late Queen of Scotland, with its rights and privileges, &c., all of which are erected and incorporated into the Duchy of Montrose, to

* *Ibid.*

† Its articles may be seen in the Appendix to Pinkerton, *Hist.*, tom. i. p. 505.—Sir Alexander Lindsay of Auchtermonzie, Crawford's brother, was one of the commissioners on the King's part.

be held in free regality for ever, with Courts of Justiciary, Chamberlainship, &c.,—on the tenure of rendering therefrom a red rose yearly on the day of St. John the Baptist."*—It was the first instance of the rank of Duke having been conferred upon a Scottish subject, not of the royal family.

Scarcely had James had time to breathe after dismissing his army, when he learnt that his son and the malcontent faction were reassembling their forces and preparing for further treason. True to the end, the Duke of Montrose and Lord Lindsay of the Byres, the Earls of Menteith and Glencairn, Lord Erskine, like his race, forgetful of hereditary wrongs, Lords Graham and Ruthven, rallied once more round the royal banner at Stirling, and, the rebels advancing upon them from Falkirk, the armies met near Stirling, at a place called Sauchieburn, close to the Bannockburn of King Robert Bruce, on the 9th of June, 1488.

But you shall have the narrative of this unhappy day from the lips of our clansman Pitscottie, one of whose principal assistants in the compilation of his chronicle was the brother and successor of the stout Lord Lindsay of the Byres.

"On the morn that the day brake," "the King rose with his council and the lords that were with him, and passed forward to the Torwood in arrayed battle. And sic-like, the King's enemies, on the other side, came pertly (boldly) forward to the water of Carron, aboon the bridge thereof, to the number of twelf thousand men, all mounted on horseback, and six thousand footmen.† And there came wise men betwix on every side to treat for peace, but the King, seeing he was sa great of power aboon his enemies, would in na ways but forward, to be avengit on them wha had

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.*—Printed in the Appendix, No. XVII.—On this creation the Duke added to his arms an escutcheon argent, charged with a rose, gules, which he carried by way of a surtout over his arms. Sir David Lindsay's *Heraldry*, p. 37; Nisbet's *Heraldry*, tom. i. p. 371. And see his seal, engraved in the plate prefixed to the first chapter of these Lives.—A new royal or public herald was also created on this occasion, under the name of "Montrose," as appears by the Exchequer Rolls. It was the custom at that time, on conferring very exalted or remarkable dignities, to create heralds bearing the name of such dignities. Henry VIII., on creating his natural son, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Somerset, similarly created a new heraldic officer by the name of "Somerset Herald."

† The six thousand foot are added from the folio edition of 1728. Four thousand at least are necessary to make the narrative consistent.

risen and rebelled aganes him. Then the King arrayed his battle, and made forward to the fields, and put his men in order, as efter follows,—that is to say, ten thousand Highland-men, with bows, in the vanguard, the Earl of Huntley and the Earl of Athol leaders of the said host; syne (then), in the rear-ward, other ten thousand men of the Westland and Strivilingshire (Stirlingshire) men,—and their leaders were my Lord Erskine, the Lord Graham, and the Lord of Menteith. The King himself wes in the great steall,* with all the boroughs and commons of Scotland; and on the one wing, on his right hand, passed David Earl of Crawford and Lord David Lindsay of the Byres, and with them two thousand horsemen and sex thousand footmen, of Fife and Angus; and on his left hand passed Alexander Lord Ruthven, with all Strathearn and Stormont, to the number of five thousand men.

"Thus, the King being in order and passing forward in arrayed battle, word came to him that his enemies were in sight. Then the King eryit for his horse, whilk my Lord Lindsay had given him, and lap (leapt) upon him, and rade to ane knowe (hill-head), to see the manner of their coming. And he saw them in three sindry battles, to the number of sex thousand men in every battle,—the Homes and the Hepburns having the vanguard, and with them in company Merse, and Tiviotdale, and East Lothian; and nixt them, Liddesdale and Annandale, with many of Galloway; and syne came the haill lords that conspirit aganes the King, and brought with them in their company the Prince, to be their buckler and safety, and hastit fast forward with great courage, because they knew the King's faculty, that he was neither hardy nor constant in battle. Sa the King, seeing his enemies coming with his awin (own) banner displayit and his son aganes him, he remembered on the words whilk the witch had spoken to him many days before, that he should be destroyed and put down by the nearest of his kin—whilk he suspectit then apparently to come to pass; and by the words of the foresaid witch, illusion and enticement of the devil, he taik sic ane vain suspicion in his mind, that he hastily taik purpose to flee. In the mean time the lords, seeing the King type (lose) courage, desired

* The centre, or main body of an army, is distinguished from the wings.—*Jamieson.*

him to pass by (apart from) the host while (until) they had foughten the battle.

"By this, the Homes and the Hepburns came sa fast upon the King's vanguard, and on the other side they shot sa mony and sa thick flights of arrows at them, that they hurt and slew mony of their horses, and put them aback. But at the last the thieves of Annandale came in, shouting and crying, and fearit (terrified) the King sa, that wes not practiqued in war, that he tuik purpose and fled his way, and thought to have win (reached) the town of Striviling (Stirling); but he, spurring his horse at the flight-speed, coming through the town of Bannockburn, ane woman perceived ane man coming fast upon horse, she being carrying in water; she ran fast away, and left the pig (pitcher) behind her; sa the King's horse lap the burn and slack of freewill, wherefra the woman came. And the King, being evil-sitten, fell aff his horse before the miln-door of Bannockburn, and sa wes bruised with the fall, being heavy in armour, that he fell in ane deadly swoon; and the milner and his wife harled (dragged) him into the miln, and, not knowing what he wes, kest him up in ane naik, and covered him with ane cloth."

The King's army meanwhile were defeated, but "retirit and fled in good order, while (till) they gat to the Torwood, and there debatit lang time while (till) night came, and then they fled away als quietly as they might, part . . . . . *" and part to Striviling. But their enemies, on the other side, followed them very sharply, sa that there wes mony ta'en, hurt, and slain of them.

"And by the King's enemies were returning back, the King himself overcame (revived), lying in the miln, and cryit—gif (if) there wes ony priest, to make his confession. The milner and his wife then, hearing thir (these) words, requirit of him what man he was, and what was his name. He happenit to say, unhappily, 'This day, at morn, I wes your King!' Then the milnward's wife clapped her hands, and ran furth, and cryit for ane priest. In this mean time ane priest was coming by, (some says he wes my Lord Gray's servant,) and he answerit and said, 'Here am I, ane priest; where is the King?' Then the milner's wife tuik the priest by the hand, and led him in at the miln-door; and how soon the said priest saw the King, he knew him incontinent,

* A hiatus in all the MSS. of Pitscottie.

and kneelit down on his knees, and speirit (asked) at the King's Grace, 'gif he might live gif he had guid leeching?' He answerit him, 'he trowit (believed) he might: but he wald have had ane priest to tak his advice, and to give him his sacrament.' The priest answerit, 'That shall I do hastily!'—and pullit out ane whinger, and gave him four or five straiks even to the heart, and syne gat him on his back and had him away. But na man knew what he did with him, nor where he buried him." *

Such was the fate of King James III. The Earl of Glencairn, the Lords Erskine, Semple, and Ruthven were slain, and the Duke of Montrose, after a valiant defence and receiving severe wounds, was taken prisoner, and compelled to ransom himself and his followers.† The strength of the royalists was broken by this defeat, and the King's death left them without head or life as a party; power passed uncontrolled into the hands of the rebels, and they proceeded to crown their tool and instrument, the youthful Prince, at Scone, on the 26th of June, 1488, by the style of King James IV.—being then in his seventeenth year.

SECTION III.

The immediate consequence of this reverse to the Duke of Montrose was the loss of his public offices, which were apportioned among themselves by the victorious faction, the Justiciarship of the North being given to Lord Lyle, and soon afterwards to Andrew Lord Gray; the Mastership of the Household to Lord Hailes; and the Great Chamberlainship to Sir Alexander Home of that Ilk.

On the meeting of parliament, in October following, summonses were issued to the Earl of Buchan, Lord Bothwell, Ross of Montgrenan, (the late Lord Advocate,) and other survivors of the royalist leaders, to appear and answer for their treasonable convocation in the late King's defence against his son. Lord Buchan appeared and confessed his guilt, and was pardoned and received into favour. Bothwell, on the contrary,

* *Pitscottie*, tom. i. pp. 217 seq. † Protest by the Duke, cited *infra*.

was forfeited and deprived of his title and estates, which were erected into an Earldom and bestowed on Lord Hailes, ancestor of the husband of Queen Mary. But the Duke of Montrose's name neither occurs among the summonses nor in the subsequent judicial proceedings,—an omission at first sight difficult to account for.*

Shortly afterwards, and on or before the 17th of October, 1488, an Act Rescissory was passed by the King and Estates in parliament, annulling all such grants of lands, offices, or dignities, conferred by the late King during the eight preceding months, "as might be prejudicial to our Sovereign Lord and to the Crown that now is,"—on the ground, it is stated, that such grants were conferred "for the assistance to the perverse council that were contrair the common good of the realm, and cause of the slaughter of our Sovereign Lord's father,"† thus imputing to his own loyal defenders the death of the unhappy King, whom they themselves had murdered. The Duke of Montrose was not however in any way affected by this Act, the young King having already taken steps which rendered it, in his case, nugatory.

Though deluded by the arts of the rebel nobles, James had been seized with sudden and overwhelming remorse on being informed of the melancholy fate of his father,—a remorse which, though evanescent for the moment, broke out ultimately with an intensity that embittered his existence.‡ It was, apparently,

* See the *Acts of Parliament*, tom. ii. pp. 201 sqq.

† This astounding falsehood is constantly repeated in the Acts of Parliament, the most singular instance occurring in the vote passed "be the three Estates and haill body of the parliament . . . that the slaughters committ and done in the field of Striviling, where our Sovereign Lord's father happenit to be slain, and others divers his barons and lieges, was all-utterly in their defaults and colourit deedis, done be him and his perverse counsell divers times before the said field: and that our Sovereign Lord that now is, and the true lords and barones that was with him in the samyn field, were innocent, quit, and free of the saids slaughters, field, and all pursuit of the occasion and cause of the samyn. And that ane part (each part) of the three Estates foresaid, Bishops, Prelates, Great Barons, and Burgesses, give their seals hereupon, togidder with Our Sovereign Lord's Great Seal, to be shawn and producit to our haly father the Pope, the Kings of France, Spayne, Denmark, and other realms, as shall be seen expedient for the time." *Acts, Parl.*, tom. ii. p. 211.—To which it may be added that a grant exists in the Great Seal Register, 26 Dec. 1489, to Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, for services in his embassy to France, England, Burgundy, and Austria,—evidently on the mission contemplated in the closing sentence of the preceding Act.

‡ Tytler, *Hist. Scotl.*, tom. iv. p. 328.

during this first fierce access of contrition, that he directed letters patent to be issued under his privy seal, freely remitting to the Duke of Montrose "his displeasure of every description conceived against him" in consequence of his loyalty to his father, the late sovereign, and his share in the battle of Stirling,—in other words, a free pardon, untrammeled by a single condition, and wiping off every supposed stain of disloyalty or guilt.* These letters patent, nevertheless, the King placed in the hands of Andrew Lord Gray, one of his most powerful adherents, to remain in his possession until the Duke should make over and resign to that nobleman the hereditary Sheriffdom of Angus—an office which, as I remarked before, gave him, coupled with the possession of the fortress of Brichty, the Gibraltar of Forfarshire, the supreme authority in that county,—the sole qualification to render the pardon available being thus the surrender of the Sheriffdom to Lord Gray, in whose hands the pardon was deposited, and who could withhold it at his pleasure, and was doubtless expected to do so, should the Duke refuse compliance. Irritated, as it should seem, by the meanness and cruelty of this proceeding, (in which we may believe the King to have acted under the constraint of his advisers rather than of his own free will,) the Duke did for some time refuse to comply, but at last found it necessary to yield, and on the 1st of November, 1488, signed a power of

* The original letters patent are no longer (so far as is known) in existence, and the Privy Seal Register only begins in 1488. The fact of the pardon, as stated, is proved *infra*.—It may be observed that by Scottish law, differing wholly in that respect from that of England, the King had full power and prerogative to pardon, even in the most aggravated cases, independently of the consent and corroboration of Parliament. For instances of this, as recent as the reign of Charles II. of Great Britain, see Mr. Riddell's *Peerage Law*, pp. 128, 750, 752, 758.—Nay more, the feudal maxim, "Princeps tantum, si feudum concesserit sciens incapaci, videtur cum ejus incapacitate dispensare, et eum naturalibus restituere," ruled in full force. Ross of Montgrenan, for example, the Lord Advocate under James III., above mentioned, was expressly attainted and forfeited by Act of Parliament, yet we find him shortly afterwards sitting in parliament and acting as before, and receiving grants from the King, recorded in the Great Seal Register. Hence he must have been pardoned solely by the King through the grants in question, recognising him as a "capax," or subject who could be dealt with; for neither in the books of parliament nor in the Great Seal Register is there any Act rescinding his forfeiture.—Much more therefore must the special pardon have availed the Duke, who was neither forfeited nor attainted (as will appear) by the Act Rescissory. Whether granted before (as is most probable) or after that Act, the pardon neutralised and rendered it innocuous, so far as he was concerned.

attorney, by which he authorized the new Earl of Bothwell and Sir Alexander Home, two originators and ringleaders of the late rebellion, to resign the Sheriffdom, for himself and his heirs, into the King's hands,—which was accordingly done by Sir Alexander on the 6th of November following, at eight o'clock in the morning, in the King's chamber at Lord Bothwell's castle of Hailes, in the presence of the Earl himself, and a multitude of barons, gentlemen, and others "in great number assembled in the said chamber,"—the King accepting the resignation in person, and transferring the office on the instant to Lord Gray, who was in attendance by his procurator, William Liddell,—the whole affair passing in due legal form and etiquette, and the Duke being recognised throughout as such by the King and the whole assembly, without cavil or exception. Nevertheless, before thus complying, the Duke solemnly and in due form, "for remedy of law at a fitting time and season," protested against the whole proceeding as illegal and unjust, the resignation being extorted (as he affirmed) against his will "by such fear of death as may befall a constant man, by the apprehension of the loss of his heritage, and by the danger of his kinsmen, friends, and followers," who were "still standing under the royal ban, or displeasure, on account of their adherence to him,"—founding this plea and protestation on the free unfettered pardon by letters patent previously issued in his favour by the King. This protest, dated the 29th October, 1488, and subscribed by the notary in legal form, before the faithful Fotheringham of Powrie and other witnesses, at the Duke's "manerium," or palace, at Dundee, is still preserved,* and recites, as I have here narrated it, the secret history of this cruel transaction.†

* In the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. An ancient copy of it, and the deeds transferring the Sheriffdom, are in the Gray Charter-room.

† I have printed it, with a translation, in the Appendix, No. XVIII.—The condition annexed to the pardon having been thus complied with, the Duke continued to enjoy the honours and lands conferred by the patent of 18 May, 1488, notwithstanding the Act Rescissory. A conclusive proof may be given of this. The lordship of Kinclevan, it may be remembered, was granted (and, I may add here, for the first time) by the patent alluded to. It had been royal property, and had been the dower of the late Queen. If the Act Rescissory had taken effect, it would have been resumed by the Crown. But it was retained by the Duke, without intervention of any new Act or conveyance. This is proved by the compotus, or accounts, preserved in the public records, of the royal steward, who declares that the Duke had received the rents for two years before the year he is accounting for,—that is to

Matters continued in this state till the 19th of September, 1489, when a new patent or charter of the Dukedom of Montrose was issued under the Great Seal, granting it *de novo* to "David Earl of Crawford and Lord Lindsay," in accordance with an Act of Parliament passed on the preceding day, proceeding on a recital of the Duke's good services to the King and his predecessors, expressed even in stronger terms than in the first grant of the dignity by the unhappy James III.*

say, that he had received them uninterruptedly since the 26th June, 1488, the very next month after the grant of the patent of 18 May, 1488.—If therefore the patent held good in the case of Kincleven, it must also have held good in that of the Dukedom,—lands and dignities being equally struck at by the Act Rescissory, and "approbation and reprobation" being inadmissible in law. The Act Rescissory was therefore a dead letter, as regarded the Duke of Montrose,—who was altogether "out of the mischief." And this is independently established by the full and complete recognition of him as Duke by all parties, including the King, (the sole fount of honour,) the Church, (as will be seen hereafter,) and the State, subsequently to the passing of that Act, and previously to the transaction noticed in the following paragraph of the text and its relative note.

* *Acts Parl.*, tom. ii. p. 215; *Reg. Mag. Sig.*—See the Appendix, No. XIX., for the Act of Parliament and for the analysis or abstract (all preserved) of the second patent in the Great Seal Register,—the patent itself, contrary to the usual custom, not being inserted *in extenso*, probably on account of its being a mere repetition of the old one, which is referred to as its rule and standard. This new patent has of late years been misunderstood (from an abbreviated phrase in the abstract) as restrictive of the honour to the Duke's lifetime,—but, independently of the reference to the former one, and of the fact that in the Act on which it passed, which is engrossed at full length in the records of Parliament, there is no such restriction expressed, it would, under such construction, be wholly null and void, as not proceeding upon a resignation,—the indispensable preliminary, if it were intended to alter or limit the mode of descent. This second patent thus resolves into a mere reissue or confirmation of the first, after a manner not at all unusual in the tumultuous and unsettled times of feudalism,—rights perfectly valid and indisputable being repeatedly confirmed by successive monarchs and barons, for the greater security of grantees. A special cause may indeed be assigned for it in the present instance, inasmuch as it was granted while a rebellion of the late King's adherents, which had broken out in the summer of 1489, was still raging, as appears by a curious letter from James IV. to Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that ilk, dated the 22nd September, that is to say three days after the date of the second patent, and cited by Nisbet in his *Heraldry*, tom. ii. App. p. 83.—Gratitude to the Duke for giving his friends no countenance in what was now disloyalty may have induced the King to grant it, as well as a desire of publicly notifying the Duke's restoration to favour in consequence of his compliance with the condition of resigning the hereditary Sheriffdom of Forfarshire. Or it may be accounted for in another point of view, by the supposition that the young King and triumphant faction may have been desirous that the Duke's honours should appear to flow from themselves and not from their victim, the late monarch. Whether the Duke held them under the first or the second patent was in fact immaterial, as he was still the premier peer of Scotland.

It must not in the mean while be supposed that the rebellion, the regicide, the subsequent forfeitures, and other acts of injustice perpetrated during these eventful months, escaped chastisement from the hand of the Church, the common parent and protector of Christendom, or that her thunders were fulminated in vain against the "ultima Thule" of the North. I ought indeed to have mentioned previously, that King James had applied in his distress to Innocent VIII., then occupant of the papal chair, and that Innocent had sent a legate to mediate between him and the rebels,—that the legate received the news of the King's death within two days after his arrival in London, and consequently returned to Rome without proceeding farther on his journey.* But it is not so generally known that the Pope formally excommunicated the rebels during the lifetime of the King,—that, some time after the battle of Stirling, they petitioned him for absolution, acknowledging their guilt,—and that Innocent accordingly issued a bull, dated the fifth of the Calends of July (the 27th of June), 1491, empowering the Abbots of Jedburgh and Paisley, and the Chancellor of the Church of Glasgow, at their discretion, to absolve the penitents, restore them to the sacraments, and reunite them to the body of the Church, on due expression of contrition and pledge of penance.† The young King, it will be observed, is not included in the excommunication of his partisans, but it is well known that the consciousness of participation in their guilt haunted him continually afterwards, and that he wore a heavy chain of iron round his waist, in penance, to his dying day.‡—

* *Boethius*, as continued by *Ferrerius*, fol. 401, verso.—The legate was Adrian Castellesi, of Corneto, afterwards created a Cardinal by Adrian VI.

† This curious document was first published by Father Innes, in his scarce work, the *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, tom. ii. p. 837. I have printed it, with a translation, in the Appendix, No. XX., from the original in the Douglas charter-chest.

‡ Such and so enduring was the horror that pervaded the country on account of the death of James III., that the third parliament of the young King, his successor, assembled at Edinburgh, 20 Feb. 1491-2, passed an Act, providing, "be the commaund and advertisement of our Sovereign Lord the King," that, "for the eschewing and ceasing of the heavy murmurs and noise of the people of the deid (death) and slaughter of our Sovereign Lord's fader, . . that the person or persons that put violent hands in his person and slew him are nocht punished," . . a reward should be given to any who should make known these that "were the overthrowers of the late King with their hands." *Acts*, tom. ii. p. 230,—wherein it is also stated, that King James IV. was "maist desirous" that the perpetrators "be known and punished after their demerits," calling the murder an "odious and cruel deid."

Partial and individual submission sufficed doubtless to restore the principal delinquents to the favour of the Church, but no public or general confession of penitence took place till March, 1503-4, when an Act was passed by the King, "with consent of the three Estates of Parliament," revoking all donations, gifts, statutes of Parliament or General Council, and all other things done by him in times bygane, either hurting his soul, his crown, or haly kirk," —an act which may be presumed to have atoned in full for all bygone royal or national delinquencies.*

David Duke of Montrose survived the death of his beloved master for seven years, but took little part in public affairs subsequently to that catastrophe. The young King indeed soon saw through the perfidy and selfishness of the faction that had seduced him into rebellion, and restored him his confidence. He was appointed, in February, 1489-90, a member of the Secret Council, in whom the entire administration of affairs was vested,† and to all outward appearance his fortunes seemed reestablished. But a bitterer arrow than that of political hostility had lodged itself in his heart, and seems to have wasted him away. He was unfortunate in his children, and a domestic tragedy, darkly and dimly indicated in the mouldering records of the family, had diverted his thoughts from earth to a better world. It appears, in fact, that in the autumn of the eventful year 1489, his eldest son, Alexander Lord Lindsay, who had long been leading a wild and ungovernable life,‡ and had taken part against him in the recent struggle,§ quarrelled with his younger brother, John, a character

And a hundred marks' worth of land in fee and heritage is offered as an inducement to the discovery.

* *Acta Parl.*, tom. ii. p. 237.—It has been already shewn that the original creation of the Dukedom of Montrose was not affected by the Act Rescissory,—but had this been the case, the Act Revocatory above mentioned would have restored it. That creation could only by any possibility have been affected by the Act Rescissory; but now that very Act Rescissory—passed against the loyal adherents of the murdered monarch, in perpetuation of rebellion, by excommunicated and unrepentant men, and with the sanction of the sovereign, the late King's son, who suspected himself a parricide—and thus deeply injurious to the young King's soul, to the honour of the Crown, and to Holy Church, in the person of the Pontiff, Innocent VIII.—was itself rescinded.

† *Acta Parl.*, tom. ii. p. 220.

‡ Besides his renewal of the feud with the Glamis family, already alluded to, he had been committed to the Castle of Blackness, 22 April, 1479, for chasing two monks of Cupar. *Acta Dom. Concilii*, p. 25.

§ Alexander Lord Lindsay is entrusted, in conjunction with Lords Glamis and

equally reckless, and who had attached to himself his cousins-german Sir David, afterwards eighth Earl of Crawford, and Alexander of Rathillet, the sons of his uncle, Sir Alexander of Auchtermonzie,—that they met in arms,—that Lord Lindsay was wounded, and died shortly thereafter at his castle of Inverqueich,—and that, on the 23rd of April, 1512, twenty-three years afterwards, letters "to search John," then "Earl of Crawford, for the slaughter of Alexander Master of Crawford, his brother," were issued by Andrew Lord Gray, (the same nobleman who had obtained the Sheriffdom of Angus from their father the Duke,) under his seal as Sheriff, charging the Earl, his cousins Sir David and Alexander, and others their accomplices, to give surety that they would appear before the King's Justiciary (Lord Gray himself), on the third day of the next justice-ayre held at Dundee, to "anderlie the law" for the said crime, under the alternative, in case of non-appearance, of being denounced the King's rebels,—which they accordingly were by another document, dated 24th July, 1513;* subsequently to which no further notice occurs of this dark transaction and equally mysterious accusation, in consequence of the death of Earl John within three months afterwards at the disastrous battle of Flodden-field.

It appears moreover from contemporary documents, that Lady Janet Gordon, the widow of Alexander Lord Lindsay, married Patrick, eldest son and apparent heir of the same Andrew Lord Gray, shortly after her husband's death,†—and from family genealogies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that popular rumour accused her of having smothered her first husband, Lord Lindsay, with a down pillow, in the Castle of Inverqueich,‡ to which he had apparently been removed, wounded,

Gray, with the government of Angus, both in its Highland and Lowland districts, by Act of Parliament, 17 Oct. 1488—at the very moment when the Duke, his father, was under the ban of the royal displeasure, and unreconciled to the government, as proved by his protest of the 29th October. I conclude from this, and from the Master's association with Lords Glamis and Gray, that he had sided with the rebels. On the other hand, the loyal Lord Lindsay of the Byres and the Sheriff of Fife have a similar authority given them in Fifeshire, on the same day. Lord Lindsay may indeed have made his submission—but we know that the Duke had not done so at the time when his son is appointed to the government of Angus. *Acts Parl.* fasc. ii. p. 208.

* Papers in the Haigh Muniment-room.

† She afterwards married a third husband, Halkerston of Southwood.

‡ "He was smoril be his wife." *MS. Genealogy ante* 1580, *Haigh Muniment-*

after his conflict with his brother,—while a tradition of the present day, in singular conformity with the above, points out a high table-rock in the beautiful glen at Craighall, near Inverqueich, (a property formerly held by feudal vassals of the Earls of Crawford,) as the scene of the penance imposed on a Lady Lindsay for murdering her husband, namely, that she should sit upon it and spin night and day, till the thread should reach the river beneath.*—Enquiry halts here. Whether guilty or not, her husband's blood can only be shifted from her by referring it to the hand of her brother-in-law, Earl John,—by running upon Scylla in seeking to avoid Charybdis,—and the truth is lost for ever in the bloody ocean of Flodden.

It was shortly before this catastrophe, but when the alienation of his sons from himself and from each other had already steeped his soul in the bitterness of death, that the Duke of Montrose entered into a convention or contract with the Minister Provincial of the Friars Minors, or Franciscans of Scotland, and "specially with the Warden and Convent of the Friars of Dundee," founding a weekly mass, to be performed at the high altar of their church, for the souls of himself and his wife, and for the late King "of haly memory," King James III., and for his grandmother, the Countess Marjory—besides other services to be performed at his sepulchre, all minutely specified,—the indenture ending with the intimation that "the said mighty Prince and Lady Margaret, Princess, his spouse, was resavit in the provincial chapter to the confraternity of the Order of Saint Francis"—as members, I pre-

room.—"He was smored in his bed at Inverquich, and, as was thought, not without knowledge of his wife." *Genealogy of 1593, ibid.*—And so too Sir James Balfour's 'Genealogy,' in the Advocates' Library.

* Others say that she was confined in a tower built on the summit of the rock. She must have been a very different character from her sister, Catherine Gordon, the beautiful "White Rose of Scotland," given in marriage by her cousin-german, James IV., to Perkin Warbeck, then believed to be the real Duke of York, and whom she never deserted in all his subsequent misery. Their mother was the Princess Annabella, daughter of James I.—The decease of the unfortunate Master of Crawford would appear to have taken place on the 16th Sept. 1489. The year is ascertained by a deed in the Haigh Muniment-room, proving that Janet Gordon, his widow, had possessed her conjunct-fee lands for fifty years previous to 1539,—the month and day by another in the same repository, by which John Earl of Crawford, in 1506, founds a special service in the Grey Friars of Dundee, "pro animâ fratris nostri, Alexandri Domini de Lindsay . . in die Sancti Niniani Confessoris, in mense Septembri,"—that is, on the 16th of September.

stime, of the third, or associate order—" and to the suffrages thereof," on the same day that the deed was executed, the 2nd of August, 1489.*—His death took place at Christmas, in 1495, in his fifty-fifth year, at Finhaven, and he was buried accordingly in the Grey Friars' Church at Dundee.†

* For this curious document, preserved in the Haigh Muniment-room, see the Appendix, No. XXI.

† Sir James Balfour's *Genealogy*, MS., Adv. Lib.—The Dukedom of Montrose sank into dormancy after the decease of the Duke; his son and heir, Earl John, being apparently deterred from assuming it by the melancholy circumstances of his position above detailed, and by others hereafter to be noticed. It has now however been claimed by the Duke's heir and representative, my father, Lord Crawford, whose petition for the dignity is at present, by reference of Her Majesty, before the House of Lords. It is based upon the following argument,—

That the original patent of 18 May, 1488, to David Duke of Montrose and his "heirs," was in nowise affected by the Act Rescissory passed in October that year:—

That no taint of forfeiture attaches to the Duke in any manner:—

That the second patent, of 19 Sept. 1489, was not a regrant, upon resignation, of an existing honour, with an altered destination, but a grant, expressly *de novo*, in terms of the original one—which could not thereby be prejudiced:*—

That,

* As a guide to the interpretation of the second patent, I subjoin a translation of the Act of Parliament on which it proceeded,—the original Latin will be found in the Appendix, at p. 457:—

"The same day of September, and year foresaid, our supreme Lord, James IV., by the grace of God King of Scots, with advice and mature deliberation of his Great Council foresaid, Acknowledging that it contributes to the glory and honour of Kings when persons of illustrious race, their great merits exacting this, are preferred to illustrious dignities, in order that, when they perceive their rank and name decorated with higher titles, they may henceforward study and labour more and more fervently in doing noble and virtuous actions to their own praise and the honour and profit of the realm and commonwealth:—Be it known therefore to all men, as well present as future, that the said our Lord the King, Considering the actual obedience and the grateful and commendable promptitude which his faithful cousin David Earl of Crawford and Lord Lindsay, and his illustrious predecessors, have exhibited towards the predecessors of the said our Lord the King, Kings of Scotland, and towards the same our supreme Lord the King, benevolently and in many modes, On account of which and other his prodigal merits, and his services to be rendered in future times, the same our supreme Lord the King being willing, from the debt of his regal magnificence, to pursue the said David with still ampler favours of grace and honour,—And since, moreover, the previous Earls of Crawford, his predecessors, worthily to be held in worship (*cum dicque predecessorum suorum, Crawfurdie Comitum, digne recolende memorie*), have held their foresaid landships from ancient times by the title of Earldom,—HENCE it is, that our supreme Lord the King, willing that the said David his cousin should shine with ampler dignity, and changing the foresaid title of Earl into a greater and higher one, has, by his certain wisdom, plenitude of power, and special grace, elevated, made, created, and anew raised the said David, his cousin, Duke of Montrose, to a Dukedom, willing him to enjoy and possess the name and prerogative of a Dukedom, according to the form and tenor of the charter of the said our Lord the King, to be executed in favour of the said Duke of Montrose upon the terms premised."

It may be left to the judgment of the reader, after perusal of this Act, and especially of the clause in which the Duke is described as the King's "faithful" cousin, and as deserving highly of the King personally,—and also of that in which the fact of the Duke's predecessors

That, consequently—it being acknowledged law that a duly constituted honour can only be alienated by forfeiture or resignation, neither of which took place in the case in question, and the Act Rescissory not in any manner affecting it—the original patent of 18 May, 1488, must be still in force, as fresh as ever, and the Dukedom be vested in the "heir" of the Duke, as called in the said patent, to wit his heir-male, Lord Crawford—the destination of the family estates in 1488 having been to such and such only by the regulating entail of 1474. *Vide supra*, p. 155.

The claim thus rests on strict law, as established by precedents, throughout, independently of equity—while the latter plea, it is presumed, is entirely in Lord Crawford's favour.

It may excite surprise that the claim should have remained so long dormant, but, independently of the rule that prescription does not apply to honours, the cloud which rested over Earl John, the Duke's successor, during his whole lifetime, the misfortunes of his successors, as narrated in these Lives, during the following century and a half, and lastly, the well-known policy of the Scottish sovereigns, ever on the watch to depress the aristocracy, may sufficiently account for it.

Should the above argument be ultimately recognised as just by the House of Lords, the restoration of the Crawford family to their long-dormant dignity will be owing, under Providence, to the acuteness, learning, and zeal of our friend Mr. Riddell, to whom we have been already so much beholden otherwise, and to the no less kind and able co-operation of the counsel who have advocated previous claims of the family before the same tribunal. And I think I need scarcely add, that in such an event my father intends applying to the proper quarter for an Act of authority attaching the title of Crawford to the Dukedom in lieu of Montrose, in deference to the "gallant Grahams" who have so long and so worthily enjoyed the latter designation. Possibly I may have to record hereafter of all this, "Dis aliter visum est,"—and if so, God be thanked! we may well be content with what we enjoy already, far exceeding our deserts,—but, taking into consideration the almost unprecedented manner in which circumstance after circumstance and document after document connected with this claim has been brought to light within the last four or five years—not the remotest suspicion having been entertained of it till after the greater part of the recent Crawford Case had been printed—and the chain of evidence having only attained its completion within the last few months—I cannot but believe that I am not unwarranted in thus expressing myself.

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having held their possessions by the title of Earl is alleged as a cause for changing the Earldom to the higher dignity of a Dukedom, (which implies by the way that the Dukedom was to descend in the same line of succession as the Earldom),—and after considering both the general tone and spirit of the Act throughout—it may be left, I say, to the judgment of the reader, whether the patent based upon this Act could have been intended to be a restrictive one, for life only, as might be supposed at first from the abridgment of that patent in the Great Seal Register, which is all we possess of it. The fact is, that the phrase "pro toto tempore vite sue," which there occurs, constantly precedes a destination to heirs in ancient patents,—that destination must have been omitted in the abridgment in question,—if the presumed restriction had been contemplated, it would have appeared in the Act of King and Parliament on which the patent is based, and which we possess *in extenso*,—but it does not there appear; and, on the contrary, the inference from the tone and tenor of that Act is, as previously stated, that the second patent was a reissue in terms of the old one.—While, finally, it must be emphatically repeated, that, under the hypothesis of the second patent being restrictive, it would be absolutely null and void, on the simplest principles of peerage law, as not proceeding upon a resignation—the indispensable preliminary, if it had been intended to supersede the original patent, which had been neither forfeited nor affected by the Act Rescissory.

CHAPTER VIII.

"There was silence deep, like the silence of sleep,
Through all that lofty hall,—

An instant more, and like torrent's roar,
A sound through the silence broke;
'T was stern and loud, 't was fierce and proud,
'T was Lindsay's voice that spoke."

H. G. BELL.

"O ride with the tidings to the Lady Lindsay's bower,
And tell her to sigh till her heart it be sore;
And tell her to weep till her days shall be o'er,
For a tale of such woe she ne'er heard of before."

ANON.

SECTION I.

A FEW observations present themselves at this pause in my narrative, essential to your apprehension of the spirit of the epoch we are entering upon. It was the period of transition in Scottish history—from the spirit of feudalism to that of modern civilization; the two principles first stood apart in hostile development at the battle of Stirling, and an old and a new world then revealed themselves, preparing, but not yet fully prepared, to battle for superiority. It is true that the revolution of 1488, intellectually considered, was a mere shuffle of the cards, a thunder-clap in the summer's day—the result of passion rather than reason, of instinct rather than cool calculation or definite purpose—one of those mysterious upliftings of the curtain by which Time anticipates to the discerning eye the revelations of futurity. But however selfish and interested the views of the rebel barons who dethroned and murdered their sovereign might be, the accession of James IV., like that of Edward of York in England, did in reality signalize a change in the spirit of the times, the commencement of a new era, in which individual intellect began to assert its pre-eminence over hereditary power,—like Warwick in England, the

Duke of Montrose represented the ancient Norman aristocracy in Scotland, and his fall, like Warwick's, was typical of that of feudalism. Things indeed went on to all appearance as they did before. There was little external difference, or, if any, feudalism shone more brilliantly than ever, resuming the garb of chivalry, borrowing the light of dawning civilization, and outshining her,—and yet a mighty change was going on all the while beneath the surface, in preparation for the struggle of the coming century; new forms of character were developing themselves, old ones were becoming modified,—every relation of life, every thread of thought, was becoming complicated; and with the Duke of Montrose, feudalism, in its pure essence, as representing the influence of territorial power, and of will uncontrolled (practically) save by moral considerations—an influence which made gods or demons of men, as Providence permitted—fell for ever. The Scottish aristocracy, it is true, was by no means crushed, as in the sister country,—it maintained its power and its baronial and princely prerogatives comparatively unimpaired till very recent times; but the policy of James I. was still persevered in by his successors, with the sole exception of James IV. and Queen Mary,—all of them, down to Charles I. inclusive, waging war incessant against the more powerful Houses of Scotland, as opposed to their own cherished scheme of establishing an absolute monarchy,—while a still more powerful control was exercised over those Houses by the slow but silent growth of public opinion—to which they themselves greatly contributed.

But before proceeding to the events that illustrate these observations, I must revert for a while to the stout Lord Lindsay of the Byres, who had distinguished himself so zealously in the royal cause before the battle of Stirling. An interesting account is given by Pitcottie of his trial by the successful faction subsequently to their victory,—a trial of which no trace now remains in the public records, and which the learned Pinkerton consequently believes to refer to an insurrection which broke out in the summer and autumn of 1489, headed by the Earl of Lennox, Lord Forbes, and a few other adherents of the late King, and which was soon put down.* Be this as it may, the narrative is characteristic of the times, and true in spirit if not in every minute particular;

* Pinkerton, *Hist. Scot.*, tom. ii. p. 12.—*Vide supra*, p. 166.

and Pitscottie, it must be observed, is entitled to the more credit, inasmuch as he quotes the personal information of one of the principal actors in the scene described.

On the appointed day,* Lord Lindsay and his associates were solemnly arraigned before the King and Council assembled in the Tolbooth, Lord Lindsay's name being first specified in the summons, because, as it was alleged, he had been "the most familiar friend" of the late monarch, "and was frackest (freest) in his opinion, and used himself maist manfully in his defence againes his enemies, wherefore the conspirators had greatest envy at him."

—"Lord David Lindsay of the Byres," so ran the "dittay," or bill of indictment—"answer for the cruel coming againes the King at Bannockburn with his father, and in giving him counsel to have devoured his son the King's Grace here present; and to that effect gave him ane sword and ane good horse, to fortify him againes his son. Your answer hereto!"

Now Lord Lindsay, "being ane rash man and of rude language, albeit he was stout and hardy in the fields, and weill exercised in war," was totally unacquainted with legal forms and usages, and knew not how to answer formally to this accusation; nor could he get any lawyer to speak for him, as they all declined the perilous office of pleading for a traitor. At last, however, wearied with hearing his name repeatedly called, and the dittay read, he started up and spoke as follows:—

"Ye are all lurdanes,† my lords! I say ye are false traitors to your Prince, and that I will prove with my hands on any of you whilk halds you best, from the King's Grace down. For ye, false lurdanes! hes caused the King to come againes his father in plain battle, where that noble Prince was cruelly murthered among your hands by your advice, though ye brought the Prince in presence for your behoof, to make him the buckler of your enterprise. Therefore, false lurdanes! an the King punish you not hastily for that murther, ye will murther himself when ye see time, as ye did

* The 10th of May, 1489, according to Pitscottie.—"The parliament of January, 1489," observes Mr. Pinkerton, "might have formed a session of justice in May," for the trial of Lord Lindsay, as stated by Pitscottie.

† "Lurdane, a worthless person, one who is good for nothing, whether man or woman. In the same sense we may understand the following passage" (quoting the above speech), "although, from its connexion, it perhaps requires a still stronger meaning." *Jamieson.*

his father. Therefore, Sir!" he continued, turning to the young King, who presided in person at the trial, "beware of them and give them no credence, for they that wes false to your father can never be true to yourself. Sir, I assure your Grace, if your father were yet alive, I would take his part and stand in no awe of thir (these) false lurdanes; and likewise, gif ye had ane son that wald be counsellit to come in battle against you by evil counsel of false traitors like thir, I wald surely take your part, and fight in your quarrel aganes them—even with three aganes six of thir false traitors, wha cause your Grace to believe evil of me. Time shall try (prove) me to be truer at length nor (than) any of them."

The Chancellor, "hearing the gross and rude speech and sharp accusation" of Lord Lindsay, thought "he hit them over near; therefore, to excuse the matter, he answerit and spake to the King in this manner:—'Sir, Lord David Lindsay is but ane man of the auld warld, and cannot answer formally, nor yet speak reverently in your Grace's presence. Your Grace maun (must) be guid to him, and I traist (trust) he will come in your will,'"* —and then, turning to the incensed veteran, he recommended him to submit himself to the King's pleasure, and he should be well treated.

"Thir words," says Pitscottie, "were spoken purposely to cause Lord David Lindsay come in the King's will, that it might be ane preparative to all the rest that were under the summons of forfaultry (forfeiture) to follow and to come in the King's will,—and thought to have cuitled (tickled) them off that way.

"But ane Maister Patrick Lindsay, brother-german to the Lord David Lindsay," and the most eminent "forspeaker," or advocate, of that day, "hearing his brother desirit to come in the King's will, wes not content therewith; to that effect he stramped sadly on his brother's foot, to gar (make) him understand that he wes not content with the desire whilk the Chancellor proponit to him. But the stramp of Maister Patrick was sa sad upon his brother's foot, wha had ane sair tae, that the pain thereof was very dolorous; wherefore he lookit to him, and said, 'Thou art ower pert, loon! to stramp upon my foot; wert thou out of the King's presence, I should take thee on the mouth.'"

* Submit to the King's mercy.

Mr. Patrick, however, disregarding his brother's "vain words," "plat on his knees" before the court, and, in the name of God, besought for leave to speak in his brother's behalf, "for although he and I," said he, "hes not been at ane thir mony years, yet my heart may not suffer me to see the native House, whereof I am descendit, perish."

"Sa the King and the justice gave him leave to speak for his brother. Then the said Maister Patrick raise aff his knees, and was very blythe that he had obtained this licence with the King's favour. Sa he began to speak very reverently in this manner, saying to the haill lords of parliament, and to the rest of them that wes accusers of his brother at that time, with the rest of the lords that were in the summons of forfaultry, saying:—'I beseek you all, my lords, that be here present, for His sake that will give sentence and judgment on us all at the last day, that ye will remember that now instantly is *your* time, and we have had the same in times bygane, as we may also have hereafter; desiring you to know your awin estate, and that all things are changeable, but God's justice and judgment stands ever firm and stable; therefore now, do ye as ye wald be done to in the ministration of justice to your neighbours and brethren, wha are accused of their lives and heritages this day, whose judgment stands in your hands. Therefore beware in time, and open not the door that ye may not steek (shut)!'"

The Chancellor then bade him say something in defence of his brother, assuring him that he should have justice at their hands. Mr. Patrick replied by a protest against the King's sitting in judgment on the case, as a violation of his coronation oath that he would not sit in judgment on his lords and barons in any action in which he was a party himself. "But here," he observed, "his Grace is both party, and was at the committing of the crime himself; therefore he ought not, neither by the law of God nor man, to sit in judgment at this time; therefore we desire him, in the name of God, to rise and depart out of judgment, while (till) the matter be farther disputit, conform to justice."

"Upon this," continues the chronicler, "the Chancellor and lords concludit that this petition was reasonable; therefore they desirit the King to rise up and pass to the Inner Tolbooth, whilk wes very unpleasant to him for the time, being ane young prince,

sitting upon seat royal, to be raisit be his subjects. But the lords, thinking shame to break justice, removit him on this manner, and then callit upon Lord David Lindsay and his procurator, Maister Patrick Lindsay, to answer forward to the points of the summons and dittay therein contained."

Then Mr. Patrick, speaking "with humility," yet re-reminding them not the less, "that we have been in the place wherein ye are now, and it may happen us to have the King and court at our pleasure, as ye have now,"—proceeded to show that the summons required that the persons specified in it should appear within forty days, without continuation (prolongation) of days," and that, as forty-one had elapsed, they could not legally be compelled to answer till summoned anew.

The summons was examined, and found to run as Mr. Patrick stated; the prisoners were released therefore, and no further steps were ever taken against them. Lord Lindsay, in particular, was "sa blythe at his brother's sayings," that, forgetting his sore toe, and the heavy stramp of Mr. Patrick's foot, he rapturously "burst forth, saying to him,—'Verily, brother, ye have fine pyet (magpie)* words! I could not have trowit (believed) that ye had sic words. By Sancta Marie! ye shall have the Mains of Kirkforthar for your day's labour.'"—The King, as may be supposed, was far from being equally captivated; he told Mr. Patrick, that "he should gar him sit where he should not see his feet for a year," and accordingly threw him into the castle of Rothesay in Bute, where he remained in prison a whole twelvemonth ere he was released.†—"The miserable subterraneous dungeon, in which he was confined, is still shown; it has only a loop-hole, level with the ground, for light and air."‡

I have related this trial at full length, every step of the proceedings throwing light on the extraordinary character of the times, at once in their concordance and their contradictions,—the distinction, as you will have observed, being clearly drawn between the "auld warld," the age of feudalism, that appeared to be pass-

* "Does this signify ornate, from the idea of the beauty of the feathers of a magpie?"—Dr. Jamieson, *Scottish Dict. in voce.*

† *Pinnertie*, tom. i. pp. 238 sqq.

‡ Tales of the Moors, by my friend Mrs. Gillespie Smyth, the "Authoress of Selwyn."

ing away, and the new, the aristocracy of worth and mind, of which the rebels proclaimed themselves the heralds and representatives,—intellect, however, on the one hand, even out of the mouth of the superannuated loyalists, pinning down the usurpers to the observance of those very laws which they had used as their stalking-horse to power: and James, on the other, the leader of the new era, punishing that interference by incarceration of the successful pleader, in the very spirit of that feudalism of which he, or rather his friends, proclaimed themselves the castigators and reformers. The King, in fact, never forgave Mr. Patrick's advocacy of his brother, and the insult he conceived himself to have undergone in being "raised from his seat royal" by his subjects.

Lord David died three years after this trial, in 1492, leaving no male issue, and was succeeded by his brother, John, the third Lord Lindsay, "a bold brave man," as his character has been transmitted to us, "commonly designed 'John Out with the Sword,'"* and on whose death, similarly without male issue, in 1497, Mr. Patrick, the hero of the preceding trial, succeeded as fourth Lord Lindsay of the Byres.†

* *

SECTION II.

John Master of Crawford had in the mean while succeeded to the Earldom of Crawford, but did not assume the Dukedom of Montrose. His career was not a happy one,—his extravagance was great; he alienated lands held *in capite* of the Crown, and thus fell into bad odour with the sovereign;‡ he was reduced to resign the hereditary Sheriffdom of Aberdeenshire, which was not regained for

* Crawford's *Hist. Lindsays*, MS.

† Patrick Lord Lindsay and Sir John Lindsay of Piteurvy, his son, had a licence, in 1508, under the privy seal, "to pass to France in pilgrimage."

‡ He had forfeited in this manner his lands of Auchterallon and others in Aberdeenshire, of which however he obtained a regrant from the Crown, penult. July, 1507, (*Cromadae Chartæ-chest.*) and also the great barony of Glenesk, as determined by a judgment of the Lords of Council, 14 Aug. 1511. The latter forfeiture occasioned violent litigations, as it affected the interests of numerous parties feudally dependent upon the barony, as the families of Idzell and Evelick, the Duchess of Montrose, &c.—See the records of the Supreme Court, 1511 and afterwards.

many years after his death;* the charge of fratricide hung over his head through life,—and his children all died in infancy.† But rays of light are seldom wholly absent from the moral landscape, and I may cite his appointment in 1503, conjointly with Huntley, Argyle, Marischal, and Lord Lovat, to the government of Scotland from Tay to Shetland;‡ his foundation, in 1506, of a daily mass and requiem at the great altar of the Franciscans of Dundee, for the souls of his father, his elder brother, his wife, and himself, together with daily special absolution at the "epitaphium" or cenotaph of the Earls of Crawford, in the said church of the Franciscans,§—and, finally, his death at Flodden in 1513—as redeeming features in his history.‖ This last event, however, requires a few preliminary observations.

James, the fourth of that name, had taken warning by the experience of the past. The fate of his father, and that more especially of his great-grandfather, James I., had made a deep and indelible impression on his mind; he became convinced that a feudal monarch could not exist independently of his nobles,—that, however partially successful in the attempt to control them by force, he must succumb at last. He devoted himself therefore to win their hearts, and thus to rule them by love. And he

* Charter of the Sheriffdom, &c., heritably to William Earl of Errol, 10 Feb. 1510, on Earl John's resignation. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*—The right of redeeming it "be payment of the sum of sex hundreth marks" was reserved to him however by a distinct "letter," or agreement; nevertheless, on the consideration that the said Earl William "has done to me divers thanks, guid deeds, and profits in my guid maners," he executed an obligation, 23 Nov. 1512, binding himself and his heirs-male, to whom the reversion was made, not to "redeem nor outquit the said office fra the said Earl of Errol nor his son William, succeedand to him, in the time of their lifis." *Charter-room at Slaines Castle,—information from Joseph Robertson, Esq.*

† Genealogy of 1623, MS. *Haigh Muniment-room.*—He left a natural son, John Lindsay, of Downie, in Angus,—father of Patrick, Archbishop of Glasgow.

‡ *Acts Parl.* tom. ii. p. 248; Gregory's *Hist. West Highlands*, p. 98.—This was on the abortive rebellion of the Hebrideans and Western Highlanders in support of Donald Dhu, the grandson and heir of John Lord of the Isles.

§ April 15, 1506. *Haigh Muniment-room.*

‖ He seems to have been fond of horses, dogs, falcons, &c. Payments occur in the Treasurer's accounts to the "Earl of Crawford's falconer"—"to the Earl of Crawford's man that brought dogs to the King"—to another that "brought one halk to the King"—to a third that "brought twa gore-faletes to the King"—to a fourth for "bridle-silver of two horses giffin" by the Earl "to the King," &c.—Payments also occur to "the Countess of Crawford's harper," on several occasions.

succeeded,—his energy and strength of character carried all before him; abuses were rectified, crime was put down, law vindicated, commerce protected, literature and art encouraged and developed,—and the event of Flodden-field proved the depth of the attachment which he had thus inspired both in prince and peasant.—"In this mean time," says Pitscottie, contrasting his reign (in the spirit of misapprehension) with that of James III., "was guid peace and rest in Scotland, and great love betwixt the King and his subjects, and he wes weill loved of them all, for he wes very noble, and thought that the vice of covetousness rang (reigned) over meikle in his father, whilk should nocht ring (reign) in him; nor yet no cowards nor pickthanks should be authorized nor advanced in his company; neither used he the counsel but of his Lords, whereby he wan the hearts of the whole nobility, sa that he wald ride out-through ony pairt of the realm, him alone, unknown that he wes ane king, and wald lig (lie) in puir men's houses, as he had been ane traveller through the country, and wald require of them where he hidged where the King wes, and what ane man he wes, and how he used himself towards his subjects, and what they spake of him through the country, and they wald answer to him as they thought guid. Sa by thir doings the King heard the common bruit (report) of himself. This prince wes wondrous hardy and diligent in the execution of justice, and loved nathing sa weill as able men and guid horses; therefore at sindry times he wald gar make proclamation through the land to all and sindry his lords and barons, wha were able for justing or tourney, to come to Edinburgh to him, and there to exercise themselves for his pleasure, some to rin with the spear, and some to fecht with the battle-aix, some with the two-handit sword, and some with the handbow, and all other exercise. Whosoever faucht best gat his adversary's weapon delivered to him by the King, and he wha ran best with the spear gat ane spear headit with pure gold delivered to him to keep in memory of his practique thereintil. By this mean the King brought his realm to great honour and manheid, that the fame of his justings and tourneys spread through all Europe, whilk caused many errand knights come out of other pairts to Scotland to seek justing, because they heard the knightly fame of the Prince of Scotland. But few or nane of them passed away unmatched, and

ofttimes overthrown." *—The fair picture of a feudal kingdom, and which there is no reason to believe exaggerated as regards Scotland under her fourth James. His reign, as I have already remarked, was an exception, like that of Queen Mary afterwards, to the policy of the early Stuarts.

But all this fair flourish was to come to a doleful ending,—

"The flowers of the forest were a' wede away!"

The tale of Flodden is written in blood on every heart in Scotland. France, for centuries the faithful ally of Scotland, was then in a most critical situation, almost every potentate in Europe having combined against her. Henry VIII. commenced hostilities by sending an army to invade Guienne, at the same time committing to the Earl of Surrey the task of arraying in arms the whole of the North of England, to be ready to repel the Scots in case they should invade his kingdom. These preparations naturally led James to suppose that an attack on Scotland was in contemplation, in order to incapacitate her from rendering any succour to her distressed ally. Under this conviction, James despatched a fleet with four thousand land-forces to the assistance of France, and, finding that he could get no redress from Henry for various injuries committed against his subjects, he determined on anticipating that monarch's purpose of invasion by an immediate attack on England. With this view he summoned the lieges, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, throughout Scotland,—the war was unpopular, for the nation had tasted the sweets of peace, but the summons was obeyed, "for every man," says Pitscottie, "loved his prince sa weill that they wald in na ways disobey him." The armies met near the hill of Flodden on the 9th of September, 1513,—the flower of Scotland's chivalry was there, but the King's utter incapacity as a general, and his Quixotic sense of honour, ruined all.

A singular scene took place previously to the battle. Surrey,

* "And of his court through Europe sprang the fame,
Of lusty lords and lovesome ladies ying,
Triumphand tourneys, justing and knightly game,
With all pastime, according for ane king,—
He was the glor of princely governing!"

—*Sir David Lindsay*, who had been bred at James's court, *Works*, tom. i. p. 314.—It is singular, by the way, in what high repute the little kingdom of Scotland is always held in the chivalrous romances of the Middle Ages.

the English commander, though of blood proverbially noble, was not, in the political balance of the day, equivalent to a king; and yet James proposed to fight in person against him, like a knight of the Round Table. The want of provisions had moreover occasioned a general departure of the common from the Scottish host, which was therefore composed almost exclusively of the nobles and gentlemen of the realm, and their immediate followers,—the disproportion in rank and political importance between the two armies was thus enormous; and the cooler and wiser heads on the Scottish side were averse to fighting at all,—while James, on the other hand, was disposed to yield every advantage to the enemy. The Council assembled to discuss the point at issue, and Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres, then the Nestor of the senate, was appointed their Chancellor or president, as being "the most learned of their number, and of the greatest age, and of the greatest experience amongst them all." The nobles laid the case before him, and required his opinion.

"My lords," replied the sage old baron, "ye desire my opinion, gif the King shall give battle to England or not at this time. My lords, I will give you forth ane similitude, desiring you to know my mind by the same hereafter. I compare your lordships to ane honest merchant, who would in his voyage go to the dice with ane common hazarder, and there jeopard ane rose-noble on ane cast againes ane gleed (gilt) halfpenny,—whilk gif this merchant wins, it will be accompted little or else nought; but gif he tynes (loses), he tynes his honour with that piece of gold,—whilk is of far greater valour. Sa, my lords! ye may understand by this, ye shall be callit the merchant, and your king the rose-noble, and England the common hazarder wha has nothing to jeopard but ane gleed halfpenny—in comparison of our noble King and ane auld crookit carle lying in ane chariot. And though they tyne him, they tyne but little; but gif we jeopard our noble prince at this time with ane simple wight, and happen to tyne him, we will be callit evil merchants, and far waur (worse) counsellors to his Majesty; for gif we tyne him, we tyne the haill realm of Scotland and the nobility thereof, (for nane, my lords, have bidden here with us at this time but nobles and gentlemen,)* sa I conclude that it is not decent nor seemly

* "The commons departed from us for lack of victual" is Pitscottie's gloss or

for us to jeopard our noble King and his nobility with ane auld crookit carle and certain sutors (shoemakers) and tailors with him in company. But better it were to cause the King to remove, and certain of his lords, whom he thinks maist expedient, to take the matter in hand and jeopard themselves for the King's pleasure and their awin honour, and for the common weal of the country at this time; and gif your lordships will conclude in this manner, I hald it best in my opinion."

The barons had agreed in this conclusion, and were appointing leaders to the different divisions of the army "to fight against England, and the King to pass with certain of his nobility a little from the army, where he might see the valiant acts on both sides," when James, who was present in disguise, interrupted their deliberations with a furious avowal of his determination to fight against England with his own arm, though they had all sworn the contrary,—"and as for Lord Lindsay," said he, turning to the venerable statesman, "I vow to God I shall never see Scotland sooner than I shall cause hang him over his awin yett (gate)!"—a threat which was of course rendered futile by the event of Flodden-field.*

Pitscottie and Hall have perhaps given the clearest account of this disastrous day, and to their pages I refer you for particulars.† Enough, that the whole affair was wretchedly mismanaged, the sage advice of Lindsay and other veterans disregarded, and the kingdom sacrificed to a punctilio. Among those who fell were the gallant young Walter of Edzell, our direct ancestor—who

comment upon this passage, erroneously (as I conceive) inserted in the text of the above speech.

* *Pitscottie*, tom. i. pp. 273 sqq.; *Hall*, p. 562, edit. Ellis.—"O what a noble and triumphant courage was this!" exclaims the English chronicler, "for a king to fight in a battle as a mean soldier! But what availed his strong harness, the puissance of his mighty champions, with whom he descended the hill, in whom he so much trusted that with his strong people and great number of men he was able, as he thought, to have vanquished that day the greatest prince of the world, if he had been there as the Earl of Surrey was; or else he thought to do such an high enterprise himself in his person, that should surmount the enterprises of all other princes. But howsoever it happened, God gave the stroke, and he was no more regarded than a poor soldier; for all went one way. . . . This may be a great mirror to all princes, how that they adventure themselves in such a battle."

† "I refer you," says Sir Walter Scott in a letter written after visiting the field of battle, "to Pitscottie, who narrates at large, and to whom I give credit for a most accurate and clear description, agreeing perfectly with the ground." *Life*, tom. i. p. 183.

fought under the King's banner, and was one of the faithful band who, after the day was utterly lost, formed themselves into a ring, and fought to the last in defence of their King, till he fell in the midst of them, surrounded by a tower of their corpses*—and his chief, John Earl of Crawford, who, conjointly with the "gallant Graham" of that day, William Earl of Montrose, commanded a dense body of seven thousand,† or, according to another authority,‡ twelve thousand men, armed with long lances and leaden maces, which did great execution. They formed the second (from the left) of the four great divisions of the Scottish army, facing Lord Thomas Howard the Admiral, by whom, supported by Lord Dacre, they were routed and cut to pieces, though, according to an English chronicler, "they did what they could to their utmost resistance, in hopes to have bathed their blades in English blood."§

* King James's order "to our Secretar and David Lindsay of Edzell, to put order to our liegis and tenants of the Earldom of Crawford, Dun, Brechin, Edzell, and Montrose, anent their forthcoming to our army and host," 19 Oct., is printed in Keith's *History of the Church*, p. x.—A Mandate by K. James V., 5 Feb. 1531-2, (cited in the chapter following this,) speaks of "Walter Lindsay, son and heir to Sir David," as having "deceasit in the field of Flodden with our maist noble father, and under his banner, through the quhilk the said Sir David was licent to remain at hame," &c.—the latter being old and infirm. *Crawford Case*, p. 162.

† French Gazette of the battle of Flodden, printed in Pinkerton, tom. ii. p. 456.

‡ The poem of 'Flodden-field,' cited below.

§ *Hall*, p. 562; *Holinshed*, p. 1492.—Their share in the battle is described as follows in 'Flodden-Field,' a rude but curious English poem of the sixteenth century, edited by Weber, p. 108:—

— "And many a Scot that stout did stand
With dreadful death they did reward.
So Howard, through bold Heron's band,
Came safe and sound to the vanguard;

Where the Admiral, with strength extent,
Then in the field fierce fighting was,
Against whom in battle bold was bent
Two Earls of an antique race,—

Th' one Crawford called, th' other Montrose,
Who led twelve thousand Scotsmen strong,
Who manfully met with their foes,
With leaden mells and lances long.

There battering blows made sallet sound,
There many a sturdy stroke was given,
And many a baron brought to ground,
And many a banner broad was riven.

But yet in fine, through mighty force,
The Admiral quit himself so well,
And wrought so that the Scots had worst,
For down in field both Earls they fell."

I do not know whether or not the aged Lord of the Byres was personally engaged, but David of Kirkforthar led his father's vassals to the field, and perished with his chief and King; of all his followers but one single survivor returned to the "bonnie parks of Garleton."*

Earl John's body was discovered on the field after the battle, and carried to Dundee, where he was interred with his fathers in the church of the Grey Friars.†

* Fragment of an old ballad, cited by Mr. Miller, in a note to his poem, 'Baldred of the Bass,' 8vo. 1824:—

"For a' that fell at Flodden-field,
Bonny Hood of the Hyls came hame."

—This David of Kirkforthar must not be confounded with another of the same name, grandson of Patrick the fourth, and younger brother of John the fifth Lord Lindsay of the Byres, and the ancestor of the Lindsays of Kirkforthar, now represented in the female line by George Johnstone Lindsay, Esq.

† *Genealogy by Sir James Balfour*, MS.—On Earl John's death without male issue, the Earldom and entailed estates went to Sir Alexander of Auchtermonzie, the heir-male, together with the "goods of heirship," or heir-looms,—the remaining personal and unentailed property to Earl John's sisters, Lady Margaret and Lady Elizabeth or Isabelle Lindsay—for the names were then frequently interchanged—the heirs of line. Earl Alexander however found it necessary to bring an "action and cause" against Earl John's widow, Marion Home, for wrongly withholding from him his "guids of heirship, that is to say, his best gown of black satin, lynit with fringes, price" (or value) "ane hundreth merks, ane great silver pot, with the cover, containing forty eight unces, price forty eight merks, ane great silver coup, wyt the cover overgilt wyt gold, contenand xx unces, price xl merks, vi silver spanys, his best furnisit bed," &c. *Crawford Case*, p. 60.—Similarly, after the death of Alexander Master of Crawford, and of the Duke of Montrose, Earl John had brought an action against Sir Patrick Gray and Janet Lindsay his spouse, the Master's widow, for detaining "nine gons, great and small, with their chawmaris," or chambers,* "the price of the piece overheid, xl^li, viii^li, viii^li," &c., these ordnance being necessary to the security, as it is to be presumed the "best gown" was to the dignity, of the representative of the family. *Ibid.* p. 58.—Of the two heirs of line above mentioned, Lady Margaret married John Blair of Balmyle, Lady Elizabeth David Lyon of Brakie, ancestor of the Lyons of Cossins. There is extant a memorial addressed to Rome on the part of Elizabeth Lindsay and her husband, craving, that, having ignorantly married in the fourth degree of affinity, they may receive a dispensation to continue married, and that their offspring may be legitimated. *Old Register of Infeftments, &c., Aberdeen.*—This is in favourable contrast to the infinity of applications that took place previously to the Reformation, for the dissolution of marriages formed under similar ignorance, or on grounds much less creditable.

* "The lower part of a gun, where the charge is lodged." *Cowden, quoted by Jamieson.*

CHAPTER IX.

LINDSAY.

"Ask the blue welkin, ask the silver Tay,
The Northern Grampians—all know my wrongs!"

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

—"David Erle of Crauffurd, wise and wight."

SIR DAVID LINDSAY.

AMIDST the general gloom occasioned by the unfortunate event of Flodden-field, a firm resolution of resistance was displayed by all classes, but Surrey took no steps to improve his advantage. James, the young King, having only attained the age of two years, his mother Queen Margaret was chosen Regent, and Sir Alexander of Auchtermonzie, now Earl of Crawford, the venerable Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres, and two other noblemen, were appointed to remain continually with her, to give her counsel and assistance.* A large party, however, were averse to the trust thus reposed in the sister of Henry VIII., and invited the Duke of Albany, then resident in France, and, after the infant Prince, next heir to the Crown, to come over and assume the Regency. He was unable to do so immediately, but sent over his near kinsman, Hamilton Earl of Arran, as his representative. Arran found a strong party arrayed against him, including Home, the Chamberlain, and the Earl of Angus, all powerful in the South, and Crawford and Huntley, who shared the chief power in the North of Scotland.† The whole kingdom was in a state of disorganisation, deadly feuds raging both in the Highlands and on the Borders, for the suppression of which Crawford was appointed

* In December, 1513. *Rec. Parl.*, 537, cited by Douglas. I do not however find the passage thus referred to in Mr. Thomson's edition of the Acts of Parliament.

† *Tytler*, tom. v. p. 92; *Pinkerton*, tom. ii. p. 114.

High Justiciary by North, and Lord Home by South the Forth.* Crawford, however, died shortly afterwards, at a great age, in May, 1517,† and was succeeded by his son, Sir David, the eighth Earl of Crawford.

Shortly before Albany's arrival, the nation was disgusted by the Queen's marriage with Angus,—she lost much of her influence in consequence, and, by the terms of her late husband's will, forfeited the Regency, which was assumed by Albany. Earl David of Crawford took part with the Queen and Angus against him. After some years, during which the Regent acted, under most trying circumstances, with much firmness and wisdom, he retired to France, with the secret determination never to return to Scotland. He had scarce set sail, when the Queen, attended by Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and others of the nobility, brought the young King to the Parliament-House, and made him assume the government. He was declared of age on the 30th of July, 1524, being then only thirteen.‡

On the retirement of Albany, Angus, who had separated from the Queen, and had been living abroad, returned to Scotland, and the star of the Red Douglasses culminated. The young King was kept by them under the closest restraint. His impatience under their thraldom became known. An open attempt to rescue him proved ineffectual,—Lennox, its leader, was slain, the insurgents were forfeited, and their lands distributed among the dominant faction, Angus taking for himself "the ample principality of Lord Lindsay" of the Byres, "and the lands of all the Eastern and Northern barons who had supported Lennox."§

* *Tytler*, ibid.; *Pinkerton*, tom. ii. p. 419.

† On the 14th or 15th of May.—*Treasurer's Accounts*, printed by Mr. Pitcairn in his 'Criminal Trials,' tom. i. p. *266.—The Retour of his son Earl David, dated 1 Feb. 1517-8, speaks of his having been then dead seven months, "aut eodem." *Crawford Case*, p. 64.—The Genealogy of 1623 says that "Earl Alexander died at Finhaven, and was buried at Dundee." He is said to have had a daughter, the wife of Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, son of Bell-the-Cat, Earl of Angus, and whose story is so beautifully told by Godscroft; see the *Lady of the Lake*, canto v. note 12.

‡ *Pinkerton*, tom. ii. p. 238; *Tytler*, tom. v. p. 177.

§ *Tytler*, tom. v. p. 206.—In the Register of the Privy Seal are letters by the young King, dated 25 Oct. 1526, promising to Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, Treasurer, "our haill escheat of John Lord Lindsay's lands and gudis," then under sumnions for treason, on his (expected) conviction and forfeiture. Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, tom. i. p. *239.—"At this time," says Pinkerton, "the Douglasses put asir

James found himself obliged to dissemble, and, having lulled to sleep the suspicions of his keepers, he escaped to Stirling, where he was joined by Lindsay, Argyle, Huntley, and others, who had been forewarned of his intentions.* The Douglasses were banished and remained in exile the whole remainder of King James's reign.

The Lord Lindsay just alluded to was John, fifth of the line, grandson and successor of the sage Lord Patrick, who had survived as late as 1526.† We find the Lindsays of the Byres from this time forward identifying themselves more and more with the party theoretically opposed to feudalism, and maintaining popular rights and principles,—the party which eventually brought about the Reformation and the Revolution of 1688. "The wise Sir Walter Lindsay," Preceptor of Torphichen and Lord of Saint John, the Grand Master of the Knights of Jerusalem within Scotland—a celebrated knight and statesman,

"By sea and land ane valiant Capitaine";‡

and said to have been a younger son of John Lord Lindsay, the High Justiciary, and younger brother of Lord David, of "John Out with the Sword," and of Lord Patrick of the stramping foot §—forms a sort of link between the earlier and feudal, the later and more constitutional period of the Lindsays of the Byres; "he was well beseen and practisit in wars," says Pitscottie, "baith in Italy and Spain,‖ and had oft-times foughten against

at the Lord Lindsay, and thocht to have forfault him, but he gave largely of his lands and geir to escape that envy for the present time, thinking that that court wald nocht continue lang." *Chron.*, tom. ii. p. 330.

* *Pitscottie.*—Lindsay's name does not appear in the printed editions, but does in the Wemyss manuscript, the best existing.

† William, younger son of Patrick fourth Lord Lindsay of the Byres, was ancestor of the Lindsays of Pyotstone and of Wormestoun, the former represented in the collateral, and the latter in the direct male line, by Sir Henry (Lindsay) Bethune, of Kilconquhar, Bart.

‡ Sir David Lindsay, *Works*, tom. ii. p. 309.

§ This is hardly possible, chronologically, but I know of no evidence proving his filiation. He describes himself as "kinsman" to John Lindsay of Covington in 1534, in granting a discharge connected with his office of Grand Master,—this might suggest a descent from the House of Covington, but stricter proof would be desirable. He had a brother, Alexander, mentioned in the Justiciary Records under 1537.

‖ Other Lindsays fought in Italy during the early years of the sixteenth century,—as, for example, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, the poet, and Sir Matthew

the Turks in defence of the Christians, being in company with the Lord of the Rhodes, and there he was made knight for his valiant acts, and thereafter came in Scotland and servit the King, and came in great credit with his Grace,"*—while, in a civil capacity, he was a Lord of Session, or of the supreme legal tribunal,† and held the High Justiciarship of the South of Scotland.‡ He died, in high repute and at a great age, before 1547,§ and his monument is still shewn in the choir of the church of the Preceptory at Torphichen.‖

On the expulsion of the Douglasses King James took the reins of government into his own hands. One of his first measures was to despatch Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, the celebrated Lion King, to Brussels, where the Emperor Charles V. then held his court, in order to renew the commercial alliance that had for nearly a century subsisted between Scotland and the Netherlands.¶

Lindsay, "Capitaine (ou Gouverneur) de la Roquette, au Château de Milan, Seigneur de l'illustre Maison de ce nom en Écosse," recorded by Hozier as having married Anne, daughter of Philip Braque, Knight, and Seigneur of Le Laut, in France. *Armorial, &c.*, Reg. iii. pt. i. p. 83.

* *Pitscottie*, tom. ii. p. 393.—He defeated the English at the battle of Haldenrig, in August, 1542, (being virtually the chief commander,)—an action of which Pitscottie has given an animated description, *loco citato*.

† He was admitted, 19 May, 1533.—Brunton and Haig's *Hist. Account of the Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 42.

‡ Chalmers' *Caledonia*, tom. ii. p. 875.

§ He attended the parliament held 19 Dec. 1545, and probably died soon afterwards. Letters of legitimation are granted to James Lindsay, bastard and natural son "quondam Walteri Domini Sancti Johannis," 20 Jan. 1546-7. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*—His death is usually stated in 1558.

‖ Chalmers' *Caled.*, ut supra.—His style is as follows in a charter, 20 April, 1540, in the possession of Cosmo Innes, Esq., "Walterus Lindsay, Miles, Dominus Beati Johannis, Preceptor de Torphichen Ordinis Jerosolimitani,"*—or in Sir David Lindsay's heraldic MS., "Schir Walter Lyndesay, Knyt of the Roddis, and Lord of Sanct Johnis," where his arms are blazoned,—the simple fesse-chequée with a St. George's cross in chief; these arms are also sculptured on Calder Church, and may be seen on his seal, 1542, as engraved in the *Acts Parl.*, tom. ii., facing p. 391.

¶ *Tytler*, tom. v. p. 236.—"I come to Brussels," he writes to the Secretary of State, in a letter preserved in the Cottonian Library, "the iii day of July, where I fand the Emperor, and gat presence of his Majesty the iii day efter my coming, and hes gotten gaid expedition of the principal errands that I was send for, and hes gotten the auld alliances and confederations confirmit for the space of ane hundret

* To this charter "Alexander Lindsay, baillivus baronie de Maryculter," is witness,—probably his brother, mentioned supra.

At home he adopted the most vigorous measures for putting a stop to the disorders of the realm. His eye was everywhere, and an instance of his vigilance in the cause of right occurred the very year after his emancipation from the Douglasses. Walter Lindsay, younger of Edzell, who fell at Flodden, had been the only son and heir apparent of Sir David of Beaufort and Edzell, son of Walter the "tutor" to Earl David, afterwards Duke of Montrose. Walter left a young wife and four sons, David, afterwards ninth Earl of Crawford, the eldest, Alexander, John, and Robert of Kirkton, father of David Lindsay, the celebrated minister of Leith and Bishop of Ross, of whom I shall speak hereafter.* Their grandfather Sir David, Walter's father, married again, and had a second and younger son, Alexander, ancestor of the Lindsays of Vane and Kethick, in Angus. Falling into dotage, and influenced probably by his young spouse, Sir David attempted to alter the succession, and convey his estates to the young Alexander in exclusion of the children of Walter; but King James

years... I remainit in the court vii awks (weeks), and odd days, upon the matters pertaining to the merchants. *Item*, the brute (rumour) was here over all this country when I come to the court, that the King's Grace, our Sovereign, was deid, for the whilk cause the Queen of Hungary send for me, and enquirit diligently of that matter at me. It was shawn to me that the Emperor's Majesty gart all the kirkmen in Brussels pray for his Grace's saul. Thae (these) novels were send for verity forth of England and were halden for effect (truth) ay while (till) my coming to the court.—My Lord, it were too lang to me write to your Lordship the triumphs that I haif seen sen (since) my coming to the court Imperial; that is to say, the triumphand justings, the terrible tournaments, the fechting on foot in barras (the lists), the wanes of lords and knights that were hurt the day of the great tournament,—whose circumstances I haif written at length in articles, to schaw the King's Grace at my hame coming. *Item*, the Emperor purposes to depart at the fine of this month, and passes up in Almany for reformation of the Lutherians. The Queen of Hungary remains here Regent of all this countries, and was confirmit Regent be the iii Estates in the town of Brussels the v day of July. And as for other novels I refer to the bearer. Written with my hand at Handwarp (Antwerp), the xxiii day of August, [1531,] by your servitour at his power,

"DAVID LYNDSAY,

"Harault (herald) to our Sovereign Lord."

—*Cotton Lib.*, Calig. B. i. 98.—It were devoutly to be wished that the "Articles," or Report to King James respecting the tournaments, &c., alluded to in this letter, were recoverable.

* These sons are enumerated in the Crawford entail of 1541. John and Robert were slain at the battle of Pinkie, in 1547, according to the Genealogy of 1683—written by a grandson of Walter, through one of his daughters, a sister of the four brothers mentioned in the text.

interfered, and prevented what "mycht nocht," to use his own words, "stand in gude conscience," Walter's son being "rychteous heritour," and "we," adds the King, "dewand in mynd to help and favour thame that dyd gude service to our maist noble father" in the field of Flodden.* "Seldom," it has been observed, "in any case did a prince use his prerogative better than James V. upon this occasion,"† and happy would it have been for him had he been as just in great things as he was in small, and had he adopted his father's policy of ruling his nobles by love, instead of that of James I. of crushing them by oppression. His fate might in that case have been different.

Earl David of Crawford was deprived by James, about this time, of large estates in the Lowlands, and of his lands in the remote Hebrides,—whether justly or not I cannot say, as the charges brought against him do not appear; but the effect, as described by the Earl of Northumberland, in a letter to Henry VIII., was to engender so great a hatred in his heart against the Scottish King, that it was believed he would willingly join with Angus, Argyle, and other disaffected nobles in the English interest.‡ Whether he did so or not is uncertain.

Crawford, indeed, having sown the wind, was about to reap the whirlwind. The weight of retribution—for the sorrow he had contributed in his early years to bring upon the Duke of Montrose in the death of his son, the unfortunate Master of Crawford—was beginning to press upon his own head. The hand of Providence is visible throughout these scenes, apportioning their deserts to

* Mandate by James V., Feb. 1531-2., *Haigh Muniment-room.*

† *Crawford Case*, p. 161.

‡ "The King of Scots hath plucked from the Earl of Argyle, and from his heirs for ever, the rule of all the out Isles, and given the same to Mackayne," and also taken from the Earl Crawford such lands as he had there and given the same to the said Mackayne, the which hath engendered a great hatrid in the said Earl's heart against the said Scottish King."—And again, 27 Dec. 1531, he reports the Earl of Bothwell as informing him, that, "remembering the banishment of the Earl of Angus, the wrongful disinheriting of the Earl of Crawford," &c., he "puts no doubt, ... seeing all their hearts afore expressed be withdrawn from the King of Scots, to crown your Grace in the town of Edinburgh within brief time." Orig. letters cited by *Tytler*, tom. v. pp. 236, 240.

* Alexander Mackay Calhaneach, chief of the Clan Ian Vohr, or MacDonalds of Isla. *Gregory's Hist. of the W. Highlands*, p. 132.

the actors, and bequeathing lessons of grave import to posterity. Earl John, as I have already mentioned, had been deprived of all his many children during their minority,—Earl David's son was spared, to be a curse to his father and to his kind.*

Alexander Master of Crawford, surnamed emphatically by Scottish tradition "The Wicked" *or* "Evil Master," exceeded all his compeers in prodigality, recklessness, and crime. He was the Absalom of his century. Like the son of David, he had been put in fee of the Earldom by his father, as future Earl, which gave him independent power, and the barony of Glenesk had been assigned to him in consequence.† Attaching to himself a band of ruffians, he seized his father's fortress of Dunlog, and commenced the life of a bandit, oppressing the liegs, tyrannizing over the clergy, and levying black-mail, or tribute, over the whole surrounding country.‡ As early as 1526, his father had been obliged to appeal to the Crown for protection from "bodily harm," threatened against himself, his wife, and friends, by his rebellious son;§ the Master expressed contrition, and by the intervention of the Archbishop of St. Andrews and others, "as amicable compositors," the Earl received him once more "into heartly favour and kindness," engaging to confirm him in the fee of the Earldom, provided he relapsed not into crime, and banished his "present company" of evil abettors,—the infeoffment to be "null, cassit, and retretit (broken and retracted), but ony process" (without any law proceedings), in case of contravention or failure in these conditions.‖ But the evil nature soon broke out again, and four

* Alexander Lindsay of Rathillet, Earl David's younger brother, and like himself an associate with Earl John in his feud with the unhappy Master of Crawford, also died without other issue than an illegitimate daughter, Mirabella Lindsay, who fell a victim to seduction.

† By charter, under the great seal, 2 Sept. 1537.

‡ The tribute was two wethers, or one bullock, or ten shillings, from the tenants in Ferne, Tannadyce, Menmuir, and Glenesk. *Indictment*, 1530, *infra*.

§ Letters of Lawburrows by James V., "ex deliberatione Dominorum Concilii," 20 Feb., fourteenth year of his reign, i.e. 1526,—commanding the Sheriff of Angus to give them protection. *Haigh Muniment-room, Crawford Cms.* p. 166.—The "wife" of Earl David, mentioned in the text, was not, I am happy to say, the Wicked Master's mother, but his stepmother, Earl David's second wife, Isabel Lindie, a daughter of that ancient House in Fife. His own mother, Mariam Hay, daughter of the Earl of Errol, had died too soon,—a mother's gentle influence might have been his salvation.

‖ Decreet Arbitral, 9 June, 1529, pronounced by James Archbishop of St. An-

years afterwards, on the 16th of February, 1530-1, he was solemnly arraigned at a Justice-ayre held at Dundee, the King himself presiding in person, when a fearful catalogue of enormities were alleged against him and his accomplices,—rapine, rape, murder, common brigandage, the occupation of lands belonging to the Earl of Buchan for five years, the besieging his father's castles with the intention of murdering him, the surprising him at Finhaven, "laying violent hands on him," and imprisoning him in his own dungeon for twelve weeks, and on another occasion carrying him by force to Brechin, where he confined him for fifteen days,—besides breaking open his coffers, pillaging his writs, and seizing his rents and revenues. No defence was offered—none could be made—the Master admitted everything, and threw himself on the King's mercy.* By the Scottish law, founded on the Roman, his guilt was parricide and its penalty death—personal to himself, civil to his posterity.† His life was spared, probably through his father's intercession, and with a lingering hope that he might yet repent. But the forfeiture took effect to the legal exclusion of himself and his posterity from succession to the estates and honours of Crawford, blotting them out as if they had never existed. And he acquiesced in this, and implemented or fulfilled the law, by solemnly abjuring and renouncing, of his own free will, all right or claim "to all the lands of the Earldom of Crawford," in favour of Earl David his father, to dispose of, in whole or in part, according to his good pleasure; confessing himself at the same time to have "sinned grievously and enormously" against his said father, and against the Decreet Arbitral pronounced by the Archbishop of St. Andrews,—and stretching out his right hand and binding himself to this renunciation (as it was called) of "all kindliness and right of succession, in presence of his unhappy parent, in the public street between the chapel of St. John and the houses of the lepers at the East end of the burgh of

drews, the primate and legate of Scotland, and other arbiters, &c. *Haigh Muniment-room, Crawford Case*, p. 166.

* Ancient official Extract from the Record, or Book of Adjournal, of the High Court of Justiciary, *Haigh Muniment-room, Crawford Case*, p. 167, and more fully, p. 206.—I am glad to say that no Lindsays of the higher rank appear in the list of his accomplices; Patrick, brother of Mr. John Lindsay, and "Alexander Lindsay, alias Evil Sandy," are the only gentlemen indicted along with him.

† *Crawford Case*, p. 10.

Dundee, the third hour after noon on the penultimate of March, 1537.*

But while parricide by Scottish law was not held to amount to treason against the sovereign, it as little affected the interests or rights of the next heirs-male collateral, who succeeded in such cases as if the original intervening heirs had become naturally extinct.† It thus obtained in the Crawford instance. The next heir-male was David Lindsay of Edzell, the eldest son of Walter who had fallen at Flodden, and he succeeded in consequence to the position of "Master," or heir-apparent, of Crawford, not through favour or selection, but in due course of law as the next heir under the regulating entail of 1474—"nocht forfaltand," as it is expressed, "his richt of succession," as "nearest heir of tailzie," —the late Master having "of law and consuetude forfaltit and tint (lost) the succeeding to his father, and made himself unable to bruik (enjoy) his heritage of the said Earldom of Crawford."‡

It so happened, indeed, that David of Edzell was peculiarly acceptable to the aged Earl. He had stood ever by his side as his protector and friend, had released him from the captivity into which his son had cast him,§ and had shewn him throughout these years of suffering the love that was his due as the chief of his clan, and an earnest anxiety to preserve the family from ruin. It was therefore with the confidence of gaining a son in lieu of the one who had forsaken him, that the old Earl presented him to King James as his rightful heir, and executed a long series of charters by which he invested him in fee of all his lands and revenues, and finally settled on him the barony of Auchtermonzie and lands of Cairnie, inherited from his grandmother, Margaret of Dunbar—not conveyed by the entail of 1474, and to which Edzell consequently had no right—in token, as he expresses it,

* *Notarial Instrument, Crawford Peerage Minutes-book, Crawford Case*, p. 69.

† *Crawford Case*, p. 11.

‡ *Bond, referred to infra.*—"To compare great things with inferior," observes Mr. Riddell, "his right was precisely the same with that by which the House of Brunswick now justly holds the Crown of these realms. Both succeeded in conformity to law, and were so recognised, although not the nearest heirs *de facto*, still as the nearest legal heirs capable of taking." *Crawford Case*, p. 15.

§ "At last, by means of David Laird of Edzell, he was relieved and brought home, for the whilk cause," &c. *Genealogy of* 1623, written, as observed before, by a descendant of the Edzell family; Lord Strathallan's *Hist. of the Drummonds*, p. 129; Crawford's *Hist. Lindsays*, MS.

of his "cordial love" and grateful acknowledgment.* All these charters were confirmed by King James, who executed, on Earl David's resignation, an especial charter of entail, under the Great Seal, dated the 16th of October, 1541, in virtue of which the whole "Comitatus," or Earldom, with all its rights of regality and otherwise, was conveyed to David Lindsay of Edzell and the heirs-male of his body, whom failing, to the next male descendants, enumerated *seriatim*, of the House of Edzell, and the heirs-male respectively of their bodies,—whom failing, to his remoter kinsmen, the Lindsays of Evelick and Dowhill successively,—and finally, on the contingency of all these lines becoming extinct, to his own nearest heirs-male, bearing the name and arms of Lindsay, for ever.†

The transaction was now complete, the cup full on all sides, and the last scenes of the drama followed in rapid succession,—the Wicked Master was slain within the twelvemonth in an ignominious broil with a cobbler of Dundee,‡—the old Earl took to his bed, worn out and broken-hearted, and died, after a lingering illness, at the castle of Cairnie,§ on the 27th or 28th of November, 1542,‖—and David of Edzell succeeded in due course as next heir and ninth Earl of Crawford.

An attempt was indeed made to oppose him, and, in singular illustration of feudal politics, the arrow came from the hostile bow of the Ogilvies. James Lord Ogilvie and the Master of Ogilvie,

* Ancient deeds in the Crawford Priory Charter-room, of which the principal, and those especially concerning the gift of Auchtermoonzie and Cairnie, are cited or referred to in the *Crawford Case*, pp. 70, 71.

† *Crawford Case*, p. 70.

‡ "His son David was sticked by a souter of Dundee for taking a stoup of drink from him." *Genealogy of* 1623.

§ The remains of this castle, which is said to have been built by Earl Beardie, and bears the name of Earl's—or Lord's—Cairnie, are still to be seen in the parish of Moonzie, or Auchtermoonzie. They consist of the keep or donjon, and a round tower, which formed one of several, enclosing with the intervening wall a considerable portion of ground. The keep is fifty-three feet in height by forty-two in breadth; the walls are between five and six feet thick,—the second floor was occupied entirely by the great hall, which is about forty feet by twenty. "The defence of the castle and its outworks was anciently strengthened by a broad morass, which appears to have entirely surrounded the slight rising ground on which they were situated." Swan's *Hist. Fife*, tom. ii. p. 85.

‖ Sentence of Reduction, &c., 6 Dec. 1554, *Haigh Muniment-room, Crawford Case*, p. 169.

his eldest son, had possessed themselves of the person of the son of the Wicked Master, David Lindsay, a minor, and, with him and in his name, seized the Castle of Finhaven the moment the news arrived of Earl David's death. Nor was it till the Queen Regent Mary of Guise sent forth her mandate for its restoration under pain of treason, that they surrendered it.* Earl David then stretched out his hand to the unfortunate orphan, brought him home, took him to his bosom, and brought him up as his own child.

Another remarkable scene followed. Long before 1541, King James had adopted his predecessor the first James's policy of appropriating and annexing to the Crown the great fiefs of the kingdom,—scrupling at no injustice in compassing his purpose. He had thus quite recently compelled the Earl of Morton to resign his Earldom,—a resignation which, after the death of James, was annulled by the Court of Session, with the most severe reprobation.† In the same spirit, before consenting to sanction the new investiture to Edzell, he had extorted from him a bond, or obligation, to resign the Earldom, its fiefs and honours, to himself thereafter, under the penalty of one hundred thousand marks, "and tinsel (loss) of life and heritage, ad perpetuam remanentiam,"—that is, to remain with him and the Crown for ever. This was on the 28th of December, 1541,‡ and, as the most recent act of oppression against the nobles, it may not improbably have instigated their refusal at Fala to march against England till their grievances should have been redressed,§—a refusal which, as is well known, so deeply affected James that he died in consequence, broken-hearted. No sooner did the news of his

* Charge by Queen Mary, 13 Dec., 1542, to "James Lord Ogilvie, James Master of Ogilvie, . . . David Lindsay, son to umquhile Alexander Lindsay, callit Master of Crawford," (that is, styled so in popular parlance, although disinherited, and without lawful claim to the title,) "James Ogilvie of Clova," (thus acting against us, reconciled to his clan by the Indenture of 1524, noticed *supra*, p. 131, and probably a keen partisan of the late Master,) and others,—commanding them to deliver up the Castle,—*Haigh Muniment-room. Crawford Case*, p. 169.

† Riddell's *Remarks upon Scottish Peerage Law*, p. 122.

‡ *Ancient Transcript, Haigh Muniment-room*, and a contemporary notarial copy, kindly communicated by Cosmo Innes, Esq.

§ There is a remission in the Haigh Muniment-room, to David Lindsay of Edzell, and John and Robert, his brothers, for absence from the raid of Falloway and Tantallon, 1542.

death reach Earl David than he recalled his bond by a formal protest at the altar of St. Francis in the Cathedral of St. Giles at Edinburgh, as having been extorted from him unjustly and under peril of life,*—but seven thousand marks were exacted from him the following year by the grasping Regent, Arran, Duke of Chatelherault, as the price of a discharge, or acquittance of this unhappy engagement. Nor was it till many years after his death that Mary Queen of Scots, ever anxious to redress wrong and repair her father's injustice, granted a discharge or renunciation of it to his son, Sir David of Edzell, by a charter under the Great Seal, dated the 3rd of March, 1564.†

Earl David, of Edzell, now ruled at Finhaven and over the wide-stretching domains of the House of Crawford; no competitor, near or remote, existed; the Government, the Parliament, the Church—James V., Mary of Guise, the Regent Arran, and Mary Queen of Scots, all acknowledged him ‡—he sat in parliament, and lived and died, in unchallenged possession of the fiefs and honours of Crawford. But as soon as he was fairly settled in his new dominions, new feelings began to stir in his heart, or old ones rather developed themselves in a new manner—feelings closely connected with the days of clanship and feudalism. His ruling passion had been the preservation of the family inheritance and dignity, and its transmission unimpaired to posterity. He had protected it hitherto,—he had incurred, as his son informs us, "the feud of the haill country"—of the barons, that is to say, who held of the House of Crawford, and who had hoped to rise to power and independence on its ruins,—the inheritance now centered in himself—he had no children, and was married, but his wife, the Dowager Lady Lovat, was old; he was in the prime of life, and a meaner spirit might have speculated on futurity. But the instinct of clanship and of reverence for the principle of legitimacy was stronger in his breast than any personal or family feelings. Though legally excluded by his father's crimes, the

* Notarial Instrument, 6 Jan. 1543-3, engrossed by the notary "Edwardus Dikson," along with other contemporary documents executed by him, in an original protocol,—communicated by Mr. Riddell.

† Discharges, 1544 and 6 Dec. 1571, cited in an ancient Inventory of the Edzell papers, in the Haigh Muniment-room.

‡ *Crawford Case*, p. 170.

direct descendant of his chief and benefactor survived in the son of the Wicked Master; the youth stood ever in his presence,—his "humile and formal behaving" induced him to believe that he would inherit the virtues and not the vices of his forefathers,—and the legal substitute could not find in his heart or conscience to profit by his misfortune. "Movit," therefore, as it is expressed, "of good zeal and piety, and remembering the great love and kindness of the said umquhile Earl of Crawford, and in mind to recompense the samyn to his offspring, nocht failzeing to him," and for the "love and favour" which he bore to that offspring, he determined to adopt him, in legal form, as his own child, and thus reconvey the fiefs and honours to him and his posterity, in exclusion of his own contingent future offspring and collateral heirs. He procured the assent and confirmation of the Crown, and executed the requisite charters by which the youthful David was reinstated in the position of his father, and put in fee of the Earldom as Master of Crawford,—Earl David reserving the right of succession to his own descendants and heirs collateral, as heirs of entail, in the event of the failure of the direct male heirs of the restored David.* A solemn bond or contract was at the same time drawn up, by which the Master acknowledged his obligations, and accepted his duties, as adopted son to Earl David, and engaged, on failure of its conditions, or on re-enacting the enormities of his father, to resign the Earldom for himself and his heirs for ever, on the payment of two thousand pounds by his adopted father, his heirs or assignees, in the kirk of Dundee, "and I, my heirs and assignees, fra thenceforth to be secludit therefra for our ingratitude for ever." The whole of the preceding facts are recitel at large in the preamble to this curious document.†

* Royal Charter, 2 May, 1546, *Reg. Mag. Sig.*—*Crawford Case*, p. 75.

† Bond, or Obligation, to David Earl of Crawford by the adopted Master, 9 Aug. 1546, *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, *Crawford Case*, p. 74.—Extracts will be found in the Appendix, No. XXII., where also, under No. XXIII., will be found a list of the *pièces*, or documents, proving the history of the Wicked Master.—"'Nunquid magis Otheno fuit?'" observes Mr. Riddell, "has been asked, in reference to the alleged disinterested choice of the Emperor Otho. Perhaps that of David ninth Earl of Crawford, in a humbler sphere, was superior, while not outraging, like the former, any just or divine ordinance." *Crawford Case*, p. 16. "It has been supposed," says Aristotle, "that a King, having the power to make his son his

Nearly at the same time the young Master espoused Margaret Bethune, daughter of Cardinal Bethune by a sister of Lord Ogilvie, born to him, as some assert, in marriage previously to his entrance into holy orders, though this is doubtful.* They were married at Finhaven with princely magnificence; her dowry was four thousand marks, an immense sum in these days,†—the Cardinal gave her away in person, designating her as his daughter in the marriage settlements;‡ he then returned home to St. Andrews, where he was murdered a month afterwards.

The remaining years of Earl David's life, and the greater part of the revenues of the Earldom, were spent in redeeming the estates from the incumbrances brought upon them by the extravagance of the recent Earls, subsequently to the death of the Duke of Montrose,§—a thankless office, as all his labour was undone by his successors, the descendants of the Wicked Master, hereditarily doomed, it would seem, to prodigality and crime. He married, in 1549, a second wife, Dame Catherine Campbell, daughter of

successor, may not exercise it. But this cannot be believed. It would be an act of virtue of which human nature is incapable." *Pallt.* lib. 3, cap. 15.—But of which human nature, enlightened and strengthened by the grace of God, is not incapable.

* "Carruthers says, in his history of Queen Mary's reign, p. 41, that the Cardinal was a widower previous to his entering into holy orders, and this is the more likely from his having remained at the University of Paris till he was twenty-six years old. I imagine indeed he was not in deacon's orders till the two years expired after his obtaining the abbacy of Arbroath and his returning from France in 1526, at which time he was twenty-eight." Lyon's *Hist. of St. Andrews*, vol. i. p. 28.—Lord Herries, in his Memoirs, describes Margaret Bethune as the Cardinal's "base daughter, who was gotten and born when the Cardinal was young, and before he was a priest." *P.* 15.—This is more likely to be the truth.

† "A dowry," says Mr. Tytler, "little inferior to that of a princess."—Henry of England only gave 6800 with his niece to the Earl of Lennox. *Buchanan*, lib. xv. cap. 39; *Knox*, &c.—The Genealogy of 1623 asserts that Cardinal Bethune worked upon Earl David by "threats and allurements" to resign the Earldom in favour of his intended son-in-law,—this is the assertion of a collateral descendant of the House of Edzell. Calderwood, on the contrary, asserts that the Cardinal went to Angus "and marrieth his eldest daughter upon the Earl of Crawford's son, by that means to strengthen himself." (*Hist. of the Kirk*, tom. i. p. 220.)—which, considering the Cardinal's circumstances at the moment, is much more probable.

‡ The Contract of Marriage is dated at St. Andrews, 10 April, 1546. It is preserved in the Charter-room at Crawford Priory.

§ There is a long "Inventair," in the Haigh Muniment-room, "of lands of the Earldom of Crawford sauld and wodset (mortgaged), whilk was redeemit be David Earl of Crawford, Laird of Edzell."

Sir John Campbell of Lorn,* younger son of Archibald, second Earl of Argyle, and widow of James Master of Ogilvie, who had opposed the son of the Wicked Master, afterwards David Master of Crawford, against him. She proved a most noble character, and bore him a large family of sons and daughters, of whom the eldest, Sir David, was ancestor of the succeeding Lindsays of Edzell, and the second, John Lord Menmuir, of the Earls of Balcarres.

At Earl David's death, therefore, in 1558, his own eldest son succeeded to the simple barony and other estates of Edzell, and David, the son of the Wicked Master, to the Earldom and fiefs of Crawford. But long before that period his conduct had disappointed the hopes and embittered the declining years of his benefactor,† and in 1559 it is stated, in a legal document under the

* Otherwise styled "of Calder."—The Calders of Calder were said to be descended from a brother of Macbeth, to whom, on his assumption of the Crown, he resigned the thanedom of Cawdor. They ended in an heiress, Muriella Calder, Dame Catherine's mother, who (if tradition may be credited) was captured in childhood by John of Lorn and the Campbells, while walking out with her nurse near Calder Castle. Her uncles pursued and overtook the division to whose care she had been entrusted, and would have rescued her but for the presence of mind of Campbell of Inverliver, who, seeing their approach, inverted a large camp-kettle as if to conceal her, and, commanding his seven sons to defend it to the death, hurried on with his prize. The young men were all slain, and when the Calders lifted up the kettle no Muriella was to be found. Meanwhile so much time had been gained, that further pursuit was useless. The nurse, at the moment the child was seized, bit off a joint of her little finger, in order to mark her identity—no unnecessary precaution, as appears from Campbell of Auchinbreck's reply to one who, in the midst of their felicitations on arriving safely in Argyle, asked what was to be done, should the child die before she was marriageable? "She can never die," said he, "as long as a red-haired lassie can be found on either side of Loch-awe!"—John of Lorn and his captive were afterwards married; Lord Cawdor is their representative, and the Campbells of Ardchattan, Airds, and Cleny are their collateral descendants.

† Only two years after his adoption, "David Lindsay, son of unquhile Alexander Lindsay, callit Maister of Crawford," attacked and spoiled Glenesk at the head of six hundred men, horse and foot, carrying away eighty-four oxen and sixty-nine 'kye,' and otherwise ravaging the country. Earl David took upon himself the responsibility, reimbursed the sufferers, and pardoned the offender,—as appears by "the just copy of the instrument of assignation of the spoliation of the guidis of Glenesk, made be the tenants thereof to my Lord Crawford," 20 Dec. 1543, in the Haigh Muniment-room.—It was probably to guard against a repetition of such conduct, and perpetuate the "humile and formal behaving" which the young delinquent had assumed subsequently to his benefactor's forgiveness, that the Bond, or Obligation, of 9 August, 1546, (*supra*, p. 208,) was drawn up with such peculiar and special stringency.—And even subsequently to this, in June, 1557, "David Master of Crawford," then residing "at his dwelling-place of Innerquaich," (of evil omen in the

signet of the Queen, that he had so conducted himself "that be all law, natural and civil, he deserves disheresing and tinsale (loss) of the benefit of the said adoption,"*—intimating how lenient and forgiving his predecessor had still been, even after his second marriage, the birth of a flourishing family, and the provocations received from the ungrateful serpent he had fostered in his bosom, might have tempted him to revoke that rash experiment.

Earl David was scarcely cold in his grave before the Crown was obliged to interfere. His successor, now David tenth Earl of Crawford, obtained a new charter of the Earldom, calling to the succession, on failure of his own male issue, his heirs-female, in exclusion of the House of Edzell,†—a charter which Queen Mary, as in the similar case of her father's extortion of the bond "ad perpetuam remanentiam," annulled as unjust, and for which she substituted another, dated March 22, 1564-5, securing the succession of the Edzell family after the extinction of the male descendants of the restored Earl, in terms of the conveyance of 1546 and the regulating entail of 1474.‡ This entail of 1564, was renewed, with the same specific destination, in 1589,§ and continued in force till the year 1642, when King Charles I. superseded it, as regarded the honours, at the request and on the resignation of Ludovic sixteenth Earl of Crawford, regranting the Earldom to Earl Ludovic and the heirs-male of his body, whom failing, to John Lord Lindsay of the Byres and the heirs-male of his body, whom failing, to the heirs-male of Ludovic,—a charter by which the whole line of Byres descended from John Lord Lindsay were interpolated between the descendants of the Wicked Master and the family of Edzell—who ought to have succeeded on their extinction, but were thus unjustly postponed for two centuries. The Lindsays of the Byres took credit to themselves in later times

history of the Masters of Crawford,) was a partaker with "James Lord Ogilwy, Thomas Ogilwy of Craigs, his tutor," and others, in "the spulie" of Finhaven. *Papers, Haigh Muniment-room.*—The Ogilvies were therefore still persevering in their policy of supporting the Master of Crawford against the Earl.

* Inhibition, 31 Dec. 1559. *Haigh Muniment-room.*

† Dated 8 July, 1550,—at the moment when the struggle between the Queen Regent and the Lords of the Congregation had come to a crisis, and the Queen may have found it expedient to yield to Crawford's unjust wishes in order to secure his assistance. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*

‡ *Reg. Mag. Sig., Crawford Calr,* p. 78.

§ *Reg. Mag. Sig., Crawford Case,* p. 78.

for having promoted the restoration of the son of the Wicked Master.* It is very possible,—and if so, their intrigues on that occasion must be reckoned as the first step in a series of machinations, persevered in for many generations and ultimately successful, to accomplish the transference of the honours of Crawford to themselves.

In order to complete the picture of family politics subsequently to the restoration of the Earldom to the son of the Wicked Master, I may add that Earl David, the restored noble, and his descendants persecuted the family of Edzell and their representative Sir David, the son of their benefactor, with the most bitter enmity,—and the state of things some few years afterwards is forcibly depicted in a Memorial presented by Sir David to the Lords of Council at Edinburgh—a statement in which one is doubtful whether most to admire the dignity of the remonstrant or the delicacy and forbearance towards his chief evinced in his language, and from which I extract a few passages as a brief summary of the preceding narrative:—

"My father," says Sir David, "gat the Earldom be disposition of the Earl for the time, for causes reasonable of all law—not to be rehearsit for my Lord's offence,† with consent of ane Prince of perfyte years and his Council; seeing he wha should have succeedit wald have destroyit the house, whilk my father, being nearest of tailzie, preservit,—with feud of the haill country, wha thocht to have made their conquests thereupon.‡

"Within four years he resignit it over again in favour of my Lord's father, for the love and kindness of his predecessours, and adoptit him to be his son, upon hands and aiths (oaths) anew.

"It is true he resignit not Glenesk and Ferne, because his awin lands lay within these baronies, and that the Earl of Craw-

* In a letter from William, eighteenth Earl of Crawford, to his legal adviser, touching a claim preferred by David Lindsay of Edzell to the Crawford honours in 1685, he alludes to "two tailzies from the Earls of Crawford to my predecessors, which was but just, they having been sensitive to cause repone the son of that Master of Crawford whom Edzell's predecessor had by a trick provoked the father to exheridate."

† Lest my Lord should be offended.

‡ Whenever a great fief fell into disorder, whether through forfeiture or otherwise, the vassals crowded round the sovereign, begging for charters to themselves, to hold henceforward in capite of the Crown.

ford had not three-score punds of maill (rent) free in them baith of property, by (beside) the superiority,—ane great pairt whereof in like manner was analiet (alienated) out of the ground before, and specially the superiority of Edzell.

"For his Lordship's father's guid will of this pairt not resignit, my father gave him" (David the tenth Earl), "at sindry times and by sindry contracts, mair nor (than) ten thousand marks, upon bands that gif ever he troublit him he should renounce and overgive again the Earldom. Last of all, I marriet his dochter," (Lady Helen Lindsay, as will be seen hereafter,) "without ony tocher," or fortune,—while he proceeds to urge that he had deserved well rather than ill from the present Earl, his antagonist, as having "procured to myself for his Lordship's cause allanerly (only) the deadly feid (feud) of the greatest Houses in Angus, with whom I am not yet reconciliate,—beside, that his Lordship will never verify that ever I disobeyit his Lordship's word or writ, but was ever ready to serve when I was requirit,"—the requital being, he adds, that the Earl now, on vexatious and futile pretexts, "insists straitly against me for the wreck and destruction of my House;"—entreating, in conclusion, that he may "have equal justice, notwithstanding the greatness of my competitor."* To which I may add, in confirmation of his claims to a different treatment, that the private correspondence of himself and his brother, the Balcarres ancestor, is full of their duty to the House of Crawford, whom they seem to have served without a murmur or thought of complaint, as if, instead of oppressors, they had been their dearest friends and benefactors.

I have dwelt at considerable length on the preceding circumstances; but, independently of their interest to ourselves as Lindsays, they are illustrative of the times, as exhibiting in strong opposition the good and the evil side of feudalism, at the moment when that mighty system, upheaved by the deep throes of the earth beneath, was beginning to slide down into the valley, and its glittering pinnacles to melt in that warmer atmosphere into waters of beneficence—healing the injuries they had inflicted in their prior state of chilly and prominent rigidity, and fertilizing the soil for that fair growth of intellect and constitutional govern-

* *Petition to the Lords of Council, Haigh Muniment-room.*

ment, which has gladdened it in more recent times,—for a people have never become truly great, have never attained full constitutional development, unless by passing through a childhood and youth of tutelage, and profiting in riper years by the counsel and continued presence of those guardians, of old tradition and of national chivalry from whom they have derived a history. Feudalism has in all ages been the parent of Liberty.*

* "Peu de scènes du moyen age," concludes M. Philarète Chasles, after relating the history of the Wicked Master, and of the restitution of his son by Earl David of Edzell—"offrent d'une manière aussi complète et aussi dramatique le mélange de bonnes et de mauvaises qualités, des générosités et des violences, dont les mœurs féodales favorisaient le développement,—c'est de l'histoire digne du philosophe, du roman digne d'un poëte." *Journal des Débats*, 30 Nov., 1847.

CHAPTER X.

"Mellifluî cantus Syren dulcisona, qualem
Scotigenæ Acuiles et recinunt et sonant;
Delicia regum, titulisque ac nomine regis;
Hoc fuerat nato quod fuit ante patri;
Quam Musis carus, quàm dîis quibus regibus olim,
Tam verè placuit religione Deo."

ARTHUR JOHNSTON.

"And still he made some quaint remark,
At which, while Bothwell's eye grew dark,
The good King James with laughter shook,
But quickly calmed his joyous look,
Which said, with frown no wrath that bore,
'Sir David Lindsay, jest no more!'"

FALKLAND, A VISION, by G. B.

"Intil his buiks to speak he did nocht spare
Aganis all vice, ay where it did abound."

HENRY CHARTERIS.

SECTION I.

A REFORMATION indeed, both civil and religious, had been needed long before the middle of the sixteenth century, and a Reformer arose in the person of the celebrated poet and satirist Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lord Lion King at Arms under James V. —the herald, in a higher sense, of almost every improvement, civil and ecclesiastical, that took place in Scotland during the succeeding centuries—yet a reformer in the spirit of constitutional government, as then existing, though as yet only in the germ—not in that of the more violent partisans of change. He stands in fact, like Janus, between the two great developments of Scottish life, facing and belonging equally to both,—the connecting link between our ancient and modern, our feudal and domestic history. Like his kinsman and contemporary, Lindsay of Pitscottie, Sir David aimed at being intelligible to his own countrymen, nor aspired beyond the hope

"Of being remembered in his line
With his land's language,"—

and as both poet and historian wrote at a period when that language was in its greatest purity, the study of their writings is indispensable to every one who wishes to attain a knowledge of its beauty and energy. They abound too with the most graphic delineations of the manners, superstitions, and prejudices of their age and country.*

Of Pitscottie little is known except his descent from the Lindsays of Pyetstone, and his birth in the parish of Ceres, Fifeshire, in which the small estate by the name of which he is usually designated is situated.† The chronicle on which his fame rests includes the history of Scotland from the commencement of the reign of James III. till shortly after the accession of Queen Mary, —and in the materials, says he, I was "instructed, learned, and

* Of another poet of the sixteenth century, Christian Lindsay, the fate has been very different.

"When we are dead, that all our days but dulls,
Let Christian Lindsay write our epitaphs."

says Montgomery in a sonnet to Hudson; but of the epitaphs for which Lindsay appears to have been celebrated, not one is now known to be extant. The following spirited sonnet, however, addressed by him to the said Hudson, upbraiding him for treachery to Montgomery, has been preserved:—

"Oft have I heard, but after found it true,
That courtiers' kindness lasts but for a while;
I've seen your turns be sped, why then adieu!
Your promised friendship passes in exile.
But, faikis! faith, ye did me not beguile,
I hopit aye of you as of the lave,
If thou had wit, thou wald have mony a wile
To mak thyself be known for a knave.
Montgomery, that ale hope did once conceive
Of thy guid will, now finds all is forgotten;
Though nought but kindness he did in thee crave,
He finds thy friendship, as it ripes, is rotten!"

—Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, tom. iii. p. 304; *Lives of Scottish Poets*, ed. 1822, tom. iii. p. 143.

† In an old MS., Adv. Lib., Jac. V., 7, 12, p. 394, enumerating the sons of Patrick fourth Lord Lindsay, the writer mentions, "3. William Lindsay of Pyetstoun, of whom was Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, the historian, and of it also" (i. e. the family of Pyetstoun) "are descended the Lindsays of Wolmerstoun."—"There is the grant of an escheat in the Privy Seal Register to 'Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie' in 1552; and Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, with Robert Lindsay of Kirkforthar, is upon a service, in 1562, of John Campbell of Lundy in the lands of Balkello, still extant in the Douglas Charter-chest." Riddell's *Peerage and Consistorial Law*, tom. i. p. 309.—Christopher Lindsay of Pitscottie was served heir of Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, his father, in 1592. I am aware of no other notices of the chronicler or his family.

lately informed by Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres, Sir William Scott of Balwearie, Sir Andrew Wood of Largo," the famous Scottish Admiral, "Sir David Lindsay of the Mount," and others —all of them distinguished gentlemen of the period; so that, judging from the dates thus afforded, he was probably born during the latter years of the fifteenth, or soon after the commencement of the sixteenth century. His naïveté and humour, his minute touches of individuality, his picturesque and graphic style, and the high spirit of chivalry and warmth of heart that glow through his every page, render him by far the most interesting of the old Scottish chroniclers,*—Sir Walter Scott has been constantly his debtor in his poems and romances, and you cannot have forgotten the frequent and endearing epithets with which he delighted to honour "honest Pitscottie." It is to be regretted only, that we know little or nothing of him personally, either from his writings or from extraneous sources.†

But of Sir David Lindsay, the Lion King, our information is much more copious, and derived in great measure from his own self-revelations.

He was born at the Mount, the family residence in Fifeshire, in or about 1490,—the eldest son, and eventually representative, of an ancient branch of the House of Byres, originally resident at Garmylton in East Lothian. He received the first elements of education at the grammar-school of Cupar, was sent to the university of St. Andrews in 1505, and left it in 1509, at the age of nineteen, his father having died during one of the intermediate

* I see no reason for considering him guilty of the dedicatory epistle to Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness, in which this sublime stanza, allusive to the untimely death of James II. at Roxburgh by the bursting of a cannon, occurs:—

"But, ever alas! this Roy of great renown,
When he had brought his realm to great stability,
East, West, South, North, up and down,
There was nothing but peace and unity;
Yet came there a chance most suddenly:—
This potent prince, this Roy of great renown,
Was murdered by a misfortunate gun."

† Pitscottie's 'Chronicle' has been published in folio, 1728; in 12mo., 1749 and 1778; and in two vols. 8vo., 1814, edited by Mr. Graham Dalyell. None of these editions however give the text from the best manuscript, belonging to Captain Wemyss of Wemyss Castle, and which I propose, by the kind permission of the proprietor, to print, as a new edition, for the Bannatyne Club.

years, 1507.* He served a campaign in Italy in 1510, when, as he says in the person of the Courtier in the 'Monarchie,'

> "I sáw Pape Julius manfully
> Pass to the field triumphantly,
> With ane richt awfúl ordinance,
> Contrair Louis the King of France,"—

a visit which, independently of initiating him into the fields of chivalry, must have given him some insight into the literature, art, and manners of Italy.† He had returned however to Scotland before the 12th of October, 1511, when he appears in the records as a member of the royal household ;‡ and on the birth of the Prince Royal, afterwards James V., on the 12th April, 1512, he was appointed that very day as his "servitor," and gentleman usher, or, as the office is described in the Treasurer's Accounts, after the battle of Flodden, "Keeper of the Kingis Grace."§ In the succeeding year, 1513—I quote Mr. Tytler's full and very interesting memoir of the Lion King—"he makes his appearance on a very strange and solemn occasion. He was standing beside the King in the church at Linlithgow, when that extraordinary apparition took place, immediately before the battle of Flodden, which warned the monarch of his approaching danger, and solemnly entreated him to delay his journey. The scene is thus strikingly described by Pitscottie. "At this time the King came to Lithgow, where he was at the council, very sad and dolorous, making his devotion to God to send him good chance and fortune in his voyage. And there came ane man clad in ane blue gown, in at the kirk-door; beltit about him with ane roll of linen cloth, and ane pair of bootikins on his feet, to the great of his legs, with all other clothes conform thereto; but he had nothing on his

* For the authorities for these dates, &c., see the Life prefixed by Mr. Chalmers to his edition of Sir David's works, three vols., 8vo., 1806.

† *Works*, tom. iii. p. 135.—The passage quoted in the text might not be altogether sufficient warrant for this visit to Italy; but I may observe, in confirmation of it, that Sir David speaks of the Italian women as an eye-witness, in his 'Supplication against Sydetails,' 1536. *Works*, tom. ii. p. 281.

‡ On that day he was presented with a quantity of blue and yellow taffety, to be a play-coat for the play performed in the King's and Queen's presence in the Abbey of Holyrood. *Life*, by Mr. Tytler, *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, tom. iii. p. 192.

§ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, tom. i. p. *261.—He is subsequently termed "the King's Usher." *Ibid.*, p. *265.

head but side hair, and on his haffets (temples), which wan (reached) down to his shoulders, but his forehead was bald and bare. He seemit to be ane man of fifty years, with ane great pike-staff in his hand, and came fast forward amang the lords, crying fast and specially for the King, saying that he desirit to speak with him, while (till) at the last he came to the desk where the King was at his prayers. But, when he saw the King, he made him little reverence or salutation, but leaned him down grufiings (lowly) on the desk before him, and said to him in this manner:—'Sir King, my mother hath sent me to thee, desiring thee not to go where thou art purposit; for, if thou do, thou shalt not fare well in thy journey, nor nane that are with thee. Further, she bade thee converse with no woman, nor use their counsel; for if thou do it, thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame.' By this man had spoken thir words to the King, the even-song was near done, and the King pansit on thir words, studying to give him ane answer; but in the mean time, before the King's face, and in presence of all the haill lords that were about him for the time, this man evanishit away, and could no-ways be seen or comprehendit, but vanishit away as he had been ane blink of the sun or ane whip of the whirlwind, and could no more be seen. I heard say Sir David Lindsay, Lion herald, and John Inglis, the marshal, who were at that time young men, and special servants to the King's grace, were standing presently beside the King,—who thought to have laid hands on this man, that they might have speired further tidings at him, but all for nought; they could not touch him, for he vanishit away betwixt them, and was no more seen."*

"There can be little doubt," observes Mr. Tytler, "that the mysterious and unearthly-looking personage, who appeared in the royal chapel and vanished like a whip of the whirlwind, was a

* "The wondering monarch seemed to seek
For answer, and found none;
And when he raised his head to speak,
The monitor was gone.
The marshal and myself had cast
To stop him as he outward past;
But, lighter than the whirlwind's blast,
He vanished from our eyes,
Like sunbeam on the billow cast,
That glances bright, and dies."

Sir David Lindsay's Tale; Marmion.

more substantial spectre than was at that time generally believed. James, with the recklessness which belonged to his character, was hurrying into a war which proved highly disastrous in its consequences, and was highly unpopular with a great proportion of his nobles; and the vision at Linlithgow may have been intended to work upon the well-known superstitions of the monarch. It is even by no means impossible that Sir David Lindsay himself knew more of this strange old man than he was willing to confess; and whilst he asserted to Buchanan the reality of the story,* concealed the key which he could have given to the supernatural appearance of the unknown monitor."†

Sir David was for many years the constant companion and playmate of the youthful sovereign. "On no man of his age," it has been observed, "could the superintendence of moments of such susceptibility have more providentially devolved. Lindsay was a man of elegant taste and grand ideas, as great a philosopher as he was a poet, a detester of abuses and prejudices, and the secret projector of some of the most important improvements which soon after took place in the condition of his country."‡ — "He ever," says Mr. Ellis, "remained a most intimate and confidential friend of James V., which honour he seems to have merited by the affection with which he served him, and by the honest and wise counsels which he never failed to offer him."§

Few passages in Sir David's poems are more interesting than those in which he recalls to his sovereign's recollection the amusements with which he had entertained his infancy:—

"When thou was young, I bore thee in my arm
Full tenderly, till thou begouth‖ to gang;
And in thy bed oft happit¶ thee full warm,
With lute in hand wyse sweitly to thee sang;
Some time in dancing fiercely I flang,
And sometime playing farces on the floor,
And sometime on my office taking cure.

* "In iis," (i. e. "qui propriùs astiterant,") "fuit David Lindesius, Montanus, homo spectatæ fidei et probitatis, nec a literarum studiis alienus, et cujus totius vitæ tenor longissimè a mendacio aberat; a quo nisi ego hæc, ut tradidi, pro certis accepissem, ut vulgatam vanis rumoribus fabulam omissurus eram." Buchanan, *Hist.*, lib. xiii. cap. 31.

† *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, tom. iii. p. 194.

‡ *Lives of Scottish Poets*, 4to. 1822.

§ *Specimens of the Early English Poets.* ‖ Began. ¶ Wrapped.

And sometime like ane fiend transfigurate,
And sometime like the grisly ghaist of Guy,*
In divers forms oft times disfigurate."†

And again, in his 'Complaikt to the King's Grace,' after telling us that he lay "nichtly by the Kingis cheek," he reminds him

"How, as ane chapman‡ beirs his pack,
I bore thy grace upon my back,
And sometimes stridlings on my neck,
Dancing with mony lewd and leek,
The first syllabis that thou did mute§
Was 'Pa Da Lyn;'‖ upon the lute
Then playit I twenty springs¶ perquair,**
Whilk was great pleasure for to hear."††

Sir David had a memory delightfully stored with ancient lore, and soon made his pupil acquainted with the adventures of Hector, Alexander, Hercules, Troilus, Samson, and King Arthur; and when history and romance failed,

"Feigult many a fable"

on the sieges of Tyre, Thebes, and Troy. At one time he would tell him

"Of leal‡‡ lovers stories amiable;"

at another, he would recite to him the mysterious prophecies of Bede, Merlin, and Thomas the Rhymer, or initiate him into the enchanting horrors of "Reid Etin,"§§ and the "Gyre Carline."‖‖ A discipline of the imagination, which doubtless tended to the realization of that romantic character, which Ariosto has immortalised in his Zerbino, and Sir Walter in the Knight of Snowdoun.

In the midst, however, of these recreations, Sir David never lost sight of the grand object to which his earliest poetical efforts

* Guy Earl of Warwick. † 'The Dreme,' 1528. *Works*, tom. i. p. 186.
‡ Pedlar. § Articulate.
‖ "Papa, Davie Lindsay," according to Mr. Tytler, *or*, as Sir Walter Scott interprets it, "Where's Davie Lindsay?"—"Play, Davie Lindsay!" is suggested by my kinsman, Mr. Charles Elphinstone Dalrymple, with the happiness (I cannot doubt) of truth.
¶ Quick cheerful airs. ** Accurately, by heart, Fr. *par cœur*.
†† *Works*, tom i. p. 257. ‡‡ Loyal.
§§ The tale of Reid Etin is mentioned in the 'Complaint of Scotland,' as a popular story of a giant with three heads.—*Chalmers*.
‖‖ "The Gyir Carline is the Hecate, or mother-witch, of the Scottish peasants."—*Jamieson*.

were all directed, the improvement of the young Prince's character, both as a sovereign and a man, and through him that of his countrymen in general.

"Wherefore, sen thou hast sic capacitie
To learn to play so pleasantly and gaylie,
Ride horse, ris spears, with great audacitie,
Shoot with hand-bow, cross-bow, and culverine,
Among the rest, Sir, learn to be ane king!
Kythe* on that craft thy pregnant fresh ingyne,†
Grantit to thee be influence divine.

And sen the definition of ane king
Is for to have of people governance,
Address thee first, above all other thing,
Till put thy body till sic ordinance,
That thy virtue thy honour may avance:
For how should princes govern gret regionis
That cannot daly guilde their awin personis?

And gif thy grace wald live right pleasantlie,
Call thy council, and cast on them the cure;
Their just decreits defend and fortifie,—
But‡ guid counsel may na prince lang indure;
Wark with counsel, then shall thy wark be sure;
Chuse thy council of the maist sapient,
Without regard to blude, riches, or rent.

Among all other pastime and pleasour,
Now, in thy adolescent yearis ying,§
Wald thou ilk day study but half an hour
The regiment of princely governing,
To thy people it were a pleasant thing;
There micht thou find thy awin vocation,
How thou should use thy sceptre, sword, and crown.

The chronicles to know I thee exhort,
Whilk may be mirror to thy majesty;
There shall thou find baith guid and evil report
Of every prince, after his quality;
Though they bin‖ deid, their deidis shall not die;
Trust weill thou shalt be stylit in that storie
As thou deservis, put in memorie.

Request that Roy, whilk rent was on the rude,¶
Thee to defend from deidis of defame,
That no port report of thee but guid;
For princes' days endures but as ane dream;
Since first King Fergus bure ane diadem,
Thou art the last king of five score and five,
And all are deid, and nane but thou alive.

* Shew. † Genius. ‡ Without. § Young.
‖ Be. ¶ "That King, who rent was on the cross."

Of whose number fifty and five ben slain,
And most part in their awin misgovernance;
Wherefore I thee beseek, my soverane,
Consider of their lives the circumstance;
And when thou knaws the cause of their mischance,
Of virtue then exalt thy sails on hie,
Trasting to 'chaip'* that fatal destiny.

Treat ilk true baron, as he were thy brother,
Whilk maun at need thee and thy realm defend;
When suddenly ane doth oppress another,
Let justice mixt with mercy them amend;
Have thou their hearts, then hes enough to spend;
And be the contrair, thou 'rt but king of beart†
What time thine hairis‡ hearts ben from thee gane.§

* Escape, *Fr. échapper.*

† That is, King of the Bean, in the amusements of Twelfth Day, the Feast of the Epiphany.

‡ Lords.

§ From 'The Testament and Complaint of our Sovereign Lord's Papingo, King James the Fift; whilk lies sore wounded, and may not die till every man have heard what she says; wherefore, gentle reader, haste you that she were out of pain.'—Who would not comply with a request so charitable?—Moreover the 'Complaint,' written in 1529, and Sir David's "first open declaration of war against the abuses of the Romanist religion in Scotland," is, according to Mr. Tytler, a poem, "in point of elegance, learning, variety of description, and easy playful humour, worthy to hold its place with any poem of the period, either English or Scottish."*

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* "Nothing," observes Mr. Tytler, "can be more graceful or pleasing than our first introduction to the papingo:—

'Our papingo, richt pleasand and perfyte,
Precelland over all divs kynd under King,
Of whome his Grace ane lang time had delyte,—
Mair fair of form I wot nane sall se on wing;
This propper bird to grave in gowmonyng
To me, whilk was his simple servitour,
On whom I did my diligence ful cure

To learn her language artificiall,
To pley "placebo" and whistle "Sanctadeus;"
But of her inclynation animall
She counterfeit all kynde lust or mows,
Of her courage. She wald, without my lure,
King Harthes merle, and crow like to the cock,
Cry like the ged, and glaym like the laverock,

Bark like a dog, and bruke like ane hen,
Blait like ane lamb, and bugle like ane bull,
Wail like ane gawk, and greit when she was wan,
Climb on ane creok, cryne lungis and gaip the full:
She might have been ane minstrel upmast Yule,—
This fleugh bird was to me so pleasand,
Where'er I fure I bure her on my hand.'

"With his pleasant companion sitting on his hand, Lindsay, one sweet summer's morning, strolls into a garden to enjoy himself,

'Among the fragrant flowers
Walking alone, some hot my Will and I.'

He wishes to 'say his hours,'—he repeat his morning orisons—and, in the interval, places his little green friend on a branch beside him; and she, delighted with her liberty, instantly begins to climb from twig to twig, till she reaches the dizzy height of the topmost bough,—

'"Sweet bird," said I, "beware! mount not over high,
Return to me, perchance the fowler may betake;
Thou art right fat, and weight will need to fly,—
The gentle gled, I dread me thee consume."
—"I will," cried she, "second, rather quod rudock;
It is my kind to climb aye to the height;
Of danger and fear I wot well I am wight."

So on the highest limb under twist,
With wing displayit, she set her wantonly;
But Remour blew ane blast or she was war,
Whilk took the branch, and blew her suddenly
Down to the ground, with many tarfful cry.'

* * * * * * *

"In her last moments, the unfortunate papingo addresses an epistle, first to the King, her royal master, as in duty bound, next to her brethren at court, and, lastly, she enters into a long expostulation with her executors, a pye, a raven, and a hawk, who personate the characters of a cannon regular, a black monk, and a holy friar. In this manner, somewhat inartificial, if we consider that the poem is long, and the papingo in the agonies of death,

* * * * * * *

And finally, remember thou maun die
And suddenly pass off this mortal see:
Thou art not sicker* of thy life twa hours,—
Sen from that sentence there is none may flee,
King, queen, nor knight, of lawe estate nor die,
But all maun thole of bitter death the showers—†
Where are they gone, this popes and emperours?
Are they not deid?—So shall it fare of thee!"‡

Sir David little thought, when writing these noble stanzas, that he was himself to be one of the little company who attended the dying Prince at Falkland, and closed his eyes—dying of a broken heart, through neglect of his father's example and Sir David's precepts, at the early age of thirty-one.§—The scene has often been described, but Pitscottie's simple relation, probably from his

* Sure. † "But all must undergo the throes of bitter death."
‡ "Exhortation to the Kingis Grace," at the conclusion of the 'Dreme,' 1528.
§ *Pitscottie*, p. 177, edit. 1728.

Lindsay contrives to introduce his advice to the King, his counsel to the courtiers and nobles, and his satire upon the corruptions of the clergy. Much in each of these divisions is excellent, the observations are shrewd, the political advice sound and honest, the poetry always elegant, often brilliant, and the wit of that light and graceful kind, which, unlike some of his other pieces, is not debased by coarseness or vulgarity.

"The scene which takes place at the death of poor papingo is described with great felicity and humour. The glad or hawk, who pretends to be a friar, holding up her head, whilst the raven stands on one side, and the magpie on the other, enquires tenderly to which of the three she chuses to leave her fortune and goods:—

'"Chuse you," she said, "which of us brethren here
Shall have of all your warldis gear the cure,
Ye know some hens more holy creatures?"

"I am content," quoth the poor papingo,
"That ye, Friar Gled, and Cousin Monk, your brother,
Have care of all my gudis, and me too.
Since at this time friendship I find none other."
"We shall be as your true as to our mother."
Quoth they, and swore to fulfil her intent.
"Of that," said she, "I take our testament."'

"She then leaves her green mantle to the quiet and unobtrusive owl, her golden and brilliant eyes to the bat, her sharp polished beak to the affectionate pelican,

'To help to grave her tender heart to remain:'

her angelical voice to the single-coated cuckoo, her eloquence and 'tongue rhetorical' to the geese; her bones, which she directs to be enclosed in a case of ivory, to the Arabian phœnix, her heart to the King her master, and her intestines, liver, and lungs to her three executors. Having finished her last injunctions, Polly disposes herself to die, and falling into her mortal passion, after a severe struggle, in which the blood pitifully gushes from her wounds, she at last breathes out her life.

'Extinguished were her natural wittis five.'

"Her executors then proceed to divide her body in a very summary manner. 'My heart was sad,' says Lindsay, 'to see this doleful partition of my favourite; her angel feathers scattered by these greedy cormorants in the air.' Nothing at last is left except the heart, which the magpie, with a sudden fit of loyalty, vindicates as belonging to the King. The portion, however, is too tempting to the raven. 'Now, may I be hanged,' says he, 'if this piece shall be given either to King or Duke;' a tender scruple, the greedy hawk, seizing the heart in her talons, soars away, whilst the rest pursue her with a terrible din, and disappear in the air. So ends the tragedy of the papingo." *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, tom. iii. pp. 222 sqq.

friend Sir David's own lips, breathes the deepest sadness. A little before he expired, word was brought him that his queen had become the mother of an infant daughter,* the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots.—"It came," said he, alluding to the Crown of Scotland, "with a lass, and it will go with a lass," "and sa he commendit himself to the Almichty God, and spake little from thenceforth, but turned his back to his lords and his face to the wall." When the last cold chill came over him, "he turnit him upon his back, and lookit and beheld all his lords about him that were there for the time, and gave ane little laughter, syne kissed his hand, and gave it to all his lords round about him, and thereafter held up his hands to God, and yieldit the spirit."*

It must have been a sweet remembrance to Sir David ever after, that the love and respect of his beloved sovereign had never chilled, never varied,† even when, in manhood, he addressed him advice as uncourtly, and rebukes (when he needed them) as severe, as those he so freely lavished on the vices of the subjects and the corruptions of the Church—a subject to which I must now call your attention.

SECTION II.

Every vast system, political or ecclesiastical, that has grown up into life and power, and flourished for centuries, has been congenial with, expressive of, and necessary to, the development of human civilization in the region where it flourished, and during the period of its growth and vigour. But, like all things earthly, every such system has an inward canker, an ultimate tendency to degeneracy and corruption—out of which corruption, slowly and gradually, a new order of things disengages itself—a giant sub-

* *Pitcottie*, tom. ii. p. 407. "As Lion King, Lindsay must have directed the mournful ceremony of the funeral rites, which placed James V. by the side of his first wife, Queen Magdalen, in the chapel of Holyrood-house." Chalmers' *Life*.

† He had been dismissed, along with Bellenden, the translator of Boece, and other personal attendants of King James, in 1524, by the intrigues of the Queen Mother, though with a small pension. After the expulsion of the Douglasses, the King appointed him Lion King in 1530, and took care that his pension should be faithfully paid him, notwithstanding his many claims and his impoverished exchequer. *Tytler*.

stitute, which shakes itself free, and then tramples on the dissolving dust of its parent. Such was the case with Church and State, Feudalism and Catholicism, in the sixteenth century. The atrocities of the Wicked Master, as detailed in the preceding chapter, have sufficiently illustrated the degeneracy of feudalism. But the clergy were no less corrupt. At no period in our history were their ignorance, arrogance, and profligacy so conspicuous; while many could hardly read, fewer understand their breviaries,* they engrossed the highest offices of the state, wallowed in riches, and lived in open defiance of decency and morality. Such conduct in the ministers naturally weakened the attachment of the people to the faith; but if a hint of disapprobation escaped any one, he was instantly branded as a heretic, and consigned to the flames. To all but the learned, the Scriptures, the only source of truth, were as a sealed fountain; the possession or use of a translation was accounted heretical, and in consequence the laity, in general, knew nothing of the doctrine and precepts of their religion, but what the priests chose to impart to them. Many, however, were beginning to search the Scriptures, while pity for those the clergy

* Pitscottie tells an amusing story of Archbishop Foreman, who fairly broke down in saying grace at a dinner he gave the Pope and cardinals on leaving Rome for Scotland, whither he had been appointed legate by Julius II. "He was not ane guid scholar, nor had not guid Latin, but began rudely after the Scottish fashion, saying 'Benedicite,' believing that they should have said 'Dominus,' but they answerit 'Deus,' in the Italian fashion, whilk put the Bishop by (beside) his intendment, that he wist not how to proceed forward, but hypocried in guid Scots in this manner, saying (whilk they understood not), 'the divil I give you all, false cardinals to *in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen*.' Then all the bishop's men leuch (laughed), and also the cardinals themselves, and the Pope enquired wherefat they leuch, and the bishop shew that he was not ane guid clerk, and that his cardinals had put him by his text and intendment, therefore he gave them all to the devil in guid Scots, wherefat the Pope himself leuch very earnestly."

On one occasion, when King James was holding his court in the midst of his nobles and prelates, Sir David, who never let an opportunity escape him of satirising the powerful and luxurious ecclesiastics, approached him with due reverence, and besought his Majesty to instal him in an office which was then vacant. "I have," said he, "servit your Grace lang, and luik to be rewardit, as others are; and now your master tailor, at the pleasure of God, is departit; wherefore I wald desire of your Grace to bestow this little benefit upon me."—The king replied that he was amazed at such a request from a man that could neither shape nor sew. "Sir," rejoined Sir David, "that makes na matter; for you have given bishoprics and benefices to many standing here about you, and yet they can neither teach nor preach; and why may not I as weill be your tailor, theugh I can neither shape nor sew?" *Henry Charteris' Preface to Sir David's Works.*

had condemned to the stake, and admiration of the fortitude with which they bore their sufferings, induced others to enquire what the tenets were, which could inspire these martyrs with such unbounded faith and constancy. This led to more conversions, and thus the very measures adopted by these bigots to repress the spirit of reformation, recoiled, by divine providence, against themselves.*

Against all these abuses, civil and ecclesiastical, Sir David proclaimed hostility. The restoration of the Christian faith to its pristine purity, the emancipation of his countrymen from mental and priestly bondage, and the amelioration of their political and social condition, were the objects to which he devoted his life. His warfare was as fearless as it was determined,—while the printer's name was studiously concealed, and the place of impression falsified, in the publication of his works, his own full name and titles always figured on the title-page, scorning concealment; and, strange to say, there is no record of his having been challenged or persecuted in consequence.† The 'Dreme,' the earliest of his

* John Knox has recorded the sarcastic and almost prophetic advice of one John Lindsay, "a merry gentleman," and "familiar" to James Beglune, Archbishop of St. Andrews:—"My lords, if ye burn any mo, except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy yourselves; if ye will burn them, let it be in howe (low) cellars, for the reek (smoke) of Mr. Patrick Hamilton hath infected as many as it blew upon."—"Thus," adds the reformer, "is pleased God that they should be taunted in their own faces." *History*, tom. i. p. 12, edit. Laing.—"There were many professors at this time," in 1559, says Calderwood, "howbeit secret, not only among the citizens and burgesses, as Sibilla Lindsay, spouse to John Fowler, George Aldjoy, merchant, John Maine, merchant, Patrick Lindsay, goldsmith, and his brother Friar Alexander, a great mathematician and maker of horologes, Francis Aikman, apothecar, and sundry others in Edinburgh." *Hist. Kirk*, tom. i. p. 134, edit. Wodrow.—Friar Alexander Lindsay appears in the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 23 July and 13 Oct. 1537, as having "reformit and mendit" the town "knok," or clock, in a manner most satisfactory to the provost and citizens,—the "knok" is to "be set and input again in the maist convenient place of their tolbooth, where she might be surdiest keepit be the advice of the correcker (corrector) of the same," &c. *Extracts, &c., printed by the Spalding Club.*—Contemporary, perhaps identical, with Friar Alexander, was the celebrated pilot and nautical surveyor, Alexander Lindsay, who accompanied James V. on his circumnavigation of Scotland in 1535, and whose charts were published at Paris in 1583. The originals are preserved in the British Museum, Harl. MSS. 3996. See, for a graphic description of this voyage, *Sibbald's Hist. of Fife*, tom. i. p. 108.

† His works were condemned to be burnt by the last Roman Catholic synod held in Scotland before the Reformation, in 1558,—but not till then. *Pitscottie*, tom. ii. p. 526.

writings, appeared in 1528, and from that year till his death a series of poems, blending the attractions of rich imagery with philosophical argument, and the keenest, though often, it must be confessed, the coarsest invective, issued from his pen, and were read, says Dr. MacCrie, "by every man, woman, and child in Scotland,"* preparing the ground, as another writer has remarked, for the seed of reformation afterwards sown by John Knox.† The most singular and most original of these poems is the 'Satire of the Three Estates, in Commemoration of Virtue and Vituperation of Vice,' "a morality which, in the regularity of its form, the breadth and boldness of its satire, and the variety of its delineation of character, was superior to the productions of any of the early English dramatists,"‡ and which had the strongest influence on the age it was addressed to,—and I may couple with it, as of equal interest on other grounds, the 'History of Squire Meldrum,' the latest romance of chivalry, and esteemed by Mr. Tytler peculiarly valuable and interesting as supplying a vivid picture of the

* MacCrie's *Life of Knox*, p. 398, edit. 1839.

† "In fact, Sir David was more the reformer of Scotland than John Knox; for he had prepared the ground, and John only sowed the seed." *Pinkerton.*—"But as to the more particular means," says Row, "whereby many in Scotland got some knowledge of God's truth in the time of great darkness, there were some books set out, such as Sir David Lindsay his poesie upon the Four Monarchies, wherein many other treatises are contained, opening up the abuses among the clergy at that time; Wedderburn's Psalms and Godly Ballads, changing many of the old popish songs unto godly purposes; a Complaint given in by the halt, blind, and poor of England, against the prelates, priests, friars, and others such kirkmen, who prodigally wasted all the tithes and kirk-livings upon their whores and other unlawful pleasures, so that they could get no sustentation nor relief as God had ordained. This was printed, and came into Scotland. There were also some theatrical plays, comedies, and other notable histories acted in public; for Sir David Lindsay his Satire was acted in the Amphitheatre of St. Johnstone" (Perth), "before King James V. and a great part of the nobility and gentry fra morn to even, whilk made the people sensible of the darkness wherein they lay, of the wickedness of their kirkmen, and did let them see how God's Kirk should have been otherwise guided nor it was; all whilk did much good for that time. As for a particular example, that book of Sir David Lindsay's, being printed, came privately to sundry men's hands, whilk, when they had read and considered, it made them know the ignorance, wickedness, and profaneness that was among the clergy; for a craftsman of St. Johnstone reading it diligently," &c. &c. *Hist. Kirk*, p. 6, edit. Wodrow.—He proceeds to recount an anecdote which will be found elsewhere, *infra*, chap. xiii. sect. 1.—Sir David indeed himself would have been very unwilling to identify himself with the lengths to which Knox and his successors went in Scotland.]

‡ Tytler's *Scottish Worthies*, tom. iii. p. 236.

manners of the times.* I substitute for my own, in both instances, the more able and graceful analyses of Mr. Tytler, the most recent and impartial biographer of Sir David Lindsay.

"The 'Satire of the Three Estates,'" says Mr. Tytler, "is divided into three parts. Of these great divisions, the first appears to have been directed against the evil councillors, who, under the minority of James V., neglected the virtuous and prudent education of the young monarch, and permitted his youth to be polluted by idleness and vice. The *dramatis personæ* are numerous; we have King Humanity (Rex Humanitas), Diligence, Good Counsel, Hameliness, Verity, Chastity, and Divine Correction. In addition to these, such low and disreputable interlocutors as Flattery, Falsehood, Sensuality, intrude themselves, with occasional appearances of abbots, princesses, parsons, Placebo, Deceit, Danger, Solace, and Soutar's wife. The proceedings open with a sort of prologue by Diligence, who requests the audience to remember that no satire is intended against any person in particular; that all is general, offered in pastime, and to be heard in silence. 'Therefore,' says he, 'let every man keep his one tongue, without permitting it to wag against us, and every woman her two.'

'Prudent people, I pray you all,
Take na man grief in special,
For we shall speak in general,
For pastime and for play.
Therefore, till all our rhymes be rang,
Let every man keep weill ane tongue,
And every woman tway.'

"The plot of the first part, if it deserves such a name, is extremely simple. King Humanity, with a disposition naturally easy and amiable, is seduced into evil and wicked courses by Flattery and Sensuality, from which he is at least reclaimed by Divine Correction and Good Counsel. He then declares himself ready to redress all grievances and correct all abuses, for which end Diligence is ordered to summon the Three Estates of the Realm. 'Here,' says the stage direction, 'shall the messenger Diligence return, and crying, *oyez, oyez, oyez*, say thus,'

* "The ever-charming and unique story of Squire Meldrum, valuable as delineating our peculiar usages at an early period." Riddell's *Law Tracts*, p. 223.

'At the command of King Humanitie,
I warn and charge all members of Parliament,
Baith spiritual estate and temporalitie,
That till his Grace they be obedient,
And speid them to the court incontinent
In guid ordour, arrayit royallie.
Wha bein absent, or inobedient,
The King's displeasure they shall underly.
Also I mak you exhortatioun,
Since ye have heard the first part of our play,
Go tak ane drink, and mak collatioun;
Ilk man drink till his marrow, I you pray.'

"The second part opens with an attack upon the extreme severity with which the churchmen exacted their tithes, a poor mendicant appearing on the stage, and asking charity, with a miserable story of the oppression under which he had sunk. During the dialogue which takes place between the Pauper, Diligence, and a Pardoner, or retailer of the papal indulgences, the Three Estates of the Realm issue from the 'palzioun,' or tent, in procession; but, to the horror and astonishment of the audience, they approach the King's presence, not in the usual fashion, with their faces turned towards the sovereign, but going backwards. Correction enquires the cause of this strange procedure:—

'CORRECTION.
My tender friends, I pray you, with my heart,
Declare to me the tiding that I wald speir,
What is the cause that ye gang all backwart?
The veritie thereof fain wald I hear.

SPIRITUALITIE.
Sovereign, we have gane so this many a year,
Howbeit ye think we gang indecently,
We think we gang right woudrous pleasantly.

DILIGENCE.
Sit down, my lords, into your proper places,
Syne let the King consider all sic cases;
Sit down, Sir Scribe, and Dempster! sit down too,
And fence the court as ye were wont to do.'

"The sovereign now announces his readiness to redress all abuses, but is reproved for his hasty resolution by the Spirituality, upon which, Correction, declaring his astonishment that such abominable counsel should proceed from these grave sages, orders Diligence to make open proclamation that every man who feels

himself aggrieved should give in his bill, or come forward and tell his story :—

'Haste, Diligence, proclaim it is our will
That every man oppress give in his bill.'

"No sooner is this invitation made public, than John the Common-weill comes dancing in upon the stage in the highest possible spirits, although rather sorrily clad; upon which, this homely dialogue ensues between him and Rex Humanitas :—

'Rex Humanitas.
Shew me thy name, gudeman, I thee command.

John.
Marry, John Common-weill of fair Scotland.

Rex.
The Common-weill has been amang his foes.

John.
Yes, Sir! that gars the Common-weill want claes.

Rex.
What is the cause the Common-weill is crookit?

John.
Because the Common-weill has been o'erlookit.*

Rex.
What gars thee look so with ane dreary heart?

John.
Because the three estates gang all backwart.'

"A long catalogue of abuses is now presented by John, which it is impossible to analyze particularly, although, in some instances, they present a singular picture of the times. The Pauper's description of the law's delay, in the Consistory Court, is excellent. He had brought an action for the recovery of damages against a neighbour, to whom he had lent his good grey mare :—

'Marry, I lent my mare to fetch hame coals,
And he her drowsit in the Quarry-holes;
And I ran to the Consistore to pleinzie,†
And there I happed amang ane greedy menzie;‡
They gave me first ane thing they call *citandum*.
Within eight dayis I gat but *debilitandum*,
Within ane month I gat *ad opponendum*.
In half ane year I got *inter loquendum*,
And syne, how call ye it? *ad replicandum*;
But I could ne'er ane word yet understand him;

* Overlooked, neglected. † Complain. ‡ Multitude.

And then they gart* me cast out mony plakkis,†
And gart me pay for four and twenty acts;
But or ‡ they cum half gate § to *conclusiondum*,
The fiend ane plack was left for to defend him.
Thus they postponed me twa year with their train,
Syne, *bodie ad ocis*, bade me come again.
And then thir rooks they roupit ‖ wonder fast,
For sentence silver they cried at the last;
Of *pronunciandum* they made wonder fain,
But I gat never my guid grey mare again.'

"All abuses having been duly investigated, and a remedy provided, Correction proposes that John Common-weill should be stripped of his ragged habiliments, clothed in a new suit of 'satin damas, or of velvet fine,' and placed among the lords in the parliament. He is accordingly arrayed gorgeously, and, having taken his place, Correction congratulates the audience—

'All virtuous people now may be rejoist,¶
Sen Common-weill has gotten ane gay garmount,**
And ignorants out of the Kirk deposit;
Devout doctours, and clerkis of renoun,
Now in the Kirk shall have dominioun;
And guid Counsel, with Lady Veritie,
Are ministers to our King's Majesty.
Blest is that realm that has nae prudent king,
Whilk does delight to hear the veritie,
Punishing them that plainly does maling
Contrair the Common-weill and equitie.'

"Proclamation is then made of the acts of the parliament; Theft, Deceit, and Falsehood are hanged, after having severally addressed the people; Folly is indulged with a reprieve, and the piece concludes with an epilogue by Diligence, entreating the audience to take 'their little sport' (such is the term he uses for a play lasting nine hours) in patience, making allowances for the rudeness of the matter, and the poverty of the style."††

* Made. † Pennies. ‡ Before. § Half-way.
‖ Croaked fast. ¶ Rejoiced. ** Garment.

†† *Scottish Worthies*, tom. iii. pp. 239 sqq.—The following letter, dated 26th January, 1540, from Sir William Evers, envoy of Henry VIII. to Scotland, to the Lord Privy Seal of England, gives a curious account of this play, as it had then been performed "in the feast of Epiphany at Linlithgow, before the King, Queen, and the whole council, spiritual and temporal. In the first entries comes in Solace, (whose part was but to make merry, sing ballads with his fellows, and drink at the interludes of the play,) who shewed first to all the audience the play to be played. Next come in a King, who passed to his throne, having no speech to th' end of the play,

Such is the outline of this singular production, in which, as Sir Walter Scott observes, "the spirit of Aristophanes, in all its good and evil, seems to have actuated the Scottish King-at-Arms." *

The 'Satire of the Three Estates' was repeatedly acted in Scotland. The performance, like that of the ancient drama, took place under the open heaven, in situations where advantage could be taken of a natural amphitheatre: at Cupar, in 1535, the "play-field," a large green hill, of much natural beauty, to the North of the Castle,† was the scene of representation; in 1539-40, on the feast of the Epiphany, it was performed in the open fields by express desire of the King, who, with the ladies of the court, then resident at Linlithgow, attended the representation; at another time, it was acted "in the amphitheatre of St. John's-

and then to ratify and approve, as in plain parliament, all things done by the rest of the Three Estates. With him come his courtiers, Placebo, Pickthank, and Flattery, and sic alike guard,—one swearing he was the justiest, starkest, best proportionit and most valiant man that ever was; another swore he was the best with long-bow, cross-bow, and culverin,—and so forth. Thereafter there came a man armed in harness, with a sword drawn in his hand, a bishop, a burgessman, and Experience, clad like a doctor,—who set them all down on the dais under the King. After them came a poor man, who did go up and down the scaffold, making a heavy complaint, that he was herriet through the courtiers' taking his fee in one place, and his tacks in another; wherethrough he had skailed his house,[a] his wife and children begging their bread,—and so of many thousands in Scotland: saying there was no remedy to be gotten, as he was neither acquainted with controller nor treasurer. And then he looked to the King, and said he was not king in Scotland, for there was another king in Scotland, that hanged John Armstrong with his fellows, and Sym the laird, and many other mo, but he had left one thing undone. Then he made a long narration of the oppression of the poor by the taking of the corpse-present beasts,[b] and of the herrying of poor men by the consistory law, and of many other abusions of the spirituality and church. Then the Bishop raise and rebuked him. Then the Man of Arms alleged to the contrary, and commanded the poor man to go on. The poor man proceeds with a long list of the bishops' evil practices, the vices of the cloisters, &c. This proved by Experience, who from a New Testament shews the office of a bishop. The Man of Arms and the Burgess-man approve of all that was said against the clergy, and allege the expediency of a reform with the consent of Parliament. The Bishop dissents. The Man of Arms and the Burgess said they were two and he but one, wherefore their voice should have most effect. Thereafter the King in the play ratified, approved, and confirmed all that was rehearsed." *Encycl. Britann., Supp., art. Drama.*—"This Interlude, however, as enacted at Linlithgow in 1540, was materially different from the play as published by Lindsay." *Tytler.*

* *Encycl. Brit.* at *supra.*

† Swan's *Hist. Fife*, tom. ii. pp. 9, 10.

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[a] Given over keeping house.

[b] "Mortuary, or funeral gifts to the church, in recompense, as was pretended, for anything that had been omitted or withheld by the deceased." *Jamieson.*

town," or Perth; and, in 1554, was performed at the "play-field" in the low valley of Greenside, which skirts the Northern base of the Calton Hill,* in presence of the Queen Regent "and ane great part of the nobility, with ane exceeding great number of people, lasting fra nine hours before noon till six hours at even."† It was witnessed and applauded, on all these occasions, by an immense multitude of all classes—bishops and clergy, nobles, burgesses, yeomen, labourers, and tacksmen,—"and yet," observes Mr. Tytler, "it exposes, with a poignancy of satire and a breadth of humour which must have made the deepest impression, the abuses of the Catholic religion, the evils of pluralities and non-residence, the ignorance of the priests, the grievances of tithes, the profligacy of the prelates, and the happy effects which would result from a thorough and speedy reformation. Hitherto what had been written against these excesses had never reached the people; it was generally shut up in a learned language, which they did not understand; if composed in English, there were few printing presses to multiply books, or, if printed, the great body of the people could not read them. But Lindsay, when he wrote a play in the language of the people, and procured permission to have it acted before them, at once acquired a moral influence over the times, and gave a strength and edge to his satire, which probably neither the King, the clergy, nor the author himself contemplated. Had it been otherwise, it is difficult to believe that the prince or prelates would have suffered, or any author have dared, the trial of such an experiment."‡

But I must now proceed to the 'History of Squire Meldrum,' which is as opposite in style and spirit to the preceding 'Satire' as can well be conceived. It was written, without a thought of

* Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, tom. ii. p. 155.

† *Chalmers' Life*, *Works*, tome i. p. 61.

‡ "It is indeed a singular proof," observes Sir Walter Scott, "of the liberty allowed to such representations at the period, that James and his Queen repeatedly witnessed a piece in which the corruptions of the existing government and religion were treated with such satirical severity."—An underplot of a less serious description is carried on throughout this curious composition, by the introduction of Common Theft as a borderer come to Fife to steal the Earl of Rothes' best hackney and Lord Lindsay's brown jennet; the marauder is taken, and, in violation of Horace's precept, executed on the stage, after uttering a ludicrously pathetic lament on his hard fate, and a farewell to his brother reivers of the border dales.

polities, civil or ecclesiastical, from feelings of friendship and admiration for its hero, and for the amusement of the family of Lord Lindsay of the Byres, under whose roof that hero had been long domiciled. I have termed it the last romance of chivalry,—but I ought to qualify the expression as applicable rather to the manner and spirit than to the matter of the narrative. There is nothing in it extravagant or beyond probability.

"It was composed," says Mr. Tytler, "about the year 1550, and contains a biography of a gallant feudal squire of those days, drawn up from his own recital by the affectionate hand of his friend and contemporary.

'With help of Clio I intend,
Sa Minerve would me sapience lend,
Ane noble Squyer to descrive,
Whose douchtiness during his lyfe
I knew myself, thereof I write,
And all his deeds I dare indite,
And secrets that I did not know
That noble Squire to me did show,
So I intend the best I can
Describe the deeds, and eke the man.'

"We have accordingly the birth, parentage, education, adventures, death, and testament of 'Ane noble and valiant Squire, William Meldrum, umquhile (lately) Laird of Cleish and Binns.'

"We first learn that he was of noble birth.

'Of noblesse* lineally descendit
Whilk their gude fame has aye defendit.
Gude Williame Meldrum he was named,
Whose honour bricht was ne'er defamed.'

"After being educated in all the exercises of chivalry, this noble squire began his 'vassalage' at twenty years of age. His portrait at this time is prepossessing. His countenance was handsome, his expression cheerful and joyous, his stature of middle height, his figure admirably proportioned, yet strong and athletic; his manners were amiable, and his love of honour and knightly

* In the true or continental sense of the word. Every British gentleman, entitled to bear coat-armour, is noble, whether titled or not. It is only in comparatively recent times that this has been forgotten, and the term "nobility" exclusively appropriated to the Peerage.

deeds so ardent that he determined to win his spurs both in England and in France.

'Because he was so courageous,
Ladies of him was amorous.
He was ane lover for a dame,
Meek in chalmer like a lamb;
But in the field ane champioun,
Rampand like ane wild lyoun.'

"At this moment James IV. had dispatched a fleet to assist his ally the King of France against the attack of Henry VIII. It conveyed an army of three thousand men, commanded by the Earl of Arran, whilst the office of admiral was entrusted to Gordon of Letterfury. Under Arran young Squire Meldrum determined to commence his warlike education, and an adventure soon occurred which is strongly characteristic of the times. In passing the coast of Ireland a descent was made upon Carrickfergus, which was taken and sacked with great barbarity. In the midst of those dreadful scenes which occur under such circumstances, a young and beautiful lady had been seized by some of the brutal soldiery, and was discovered by Meldrum imploring them to spare her life, and, what was dearer to her than life, her honour. They had stripped her of her rich garments, and she stood helpless and almost naked when this brave youth flew to her assistance, and upbraided them for their cruelty and meanness. He was instantly attacked by the ruffians, but the struggle ended in his slaying them both, and saving the lady from the dreadful fate which seemed impending over her. The description of her dress is graceful and curious:—

'Her kirtle was of scarlet red,
Of gold ane garland on her head
Decorit with enamelyne,
Belt and brochis of silver fyne.'

"Scarce had Squire Meldrum rescued this beautiful and unknown lady when the trumpet sounded, and it became his duty to hurry on board. But his noble and generous conduct had made an impression on her which can be easily imagined. To be saved from death and dishonour, to see her deliverer only for a moment, but to see enough of him in that brief interval to be convinced that he was the very mirror of youthful beauty and valour, all this was what few gentle hearts could resist, and we do not wonder

when she throws herself in a transport of gratitude and admiration at his feet, informs him of the high rank of her father, and in very unequivocal terms offers him her hand and her heart. But it might not be; Squire Meldrum dared not desert the banner of his lord the high admiral; he must pass on to take his fortune in France. 'Ah!' said the lady, 'if it must be thus, let me dress myself as thy page, and follow thee but for love!' 'Nay; thou art too young to be thus exposed to danger,' said Meldrum; 'but let this warlike expedition be brought to an end, and when the peace is made I will be right glad to marry you.'

'Lady, I say you in certain,
Ye shall have life for life again,
Truly unto my life's end.
Farewell, I you to God commend.'

"Meldrum now embarks, after having received a love-token from his mistress, a rich ruby set in a ring, and the fleet reaches the shores of Britanny, where the army is disembarked, and the squire entrusted with the command of five hundred men. 'Harry the Eighth of England,' pursues the history, 'was at that time lying with his army at Calais, making war on the realm of France; and although there was no pitched battle, yet daily skirmishing took place between the hosts, for the King of France with his great army was encamped near hand in Picardy. Squire Meldrum, hearing of this, immediately chose a hundred spears, the best men in his company, and, riding to the French quarters, was courteously received by the King.' It chanced that at this moment there was amongst the English a hardy and excellent soldier, named in the story Maister Talbart, probably Talbot, who used to stalk about with 'silver tokens of war' in his bonnet, speaking somewhat lightly of the French, and proclaiming that, for his lady's sake, he was ready to break his spear with any man who would accept his challenge. His defiance had not been answered previous to Meldrum's arrival in the camp. Talbart next addresses the Scots, and the young squire, without a moment's hesitation, takes up his gage:—

"And when the Squyer Meldrum
Heard tell this champioun was come,
Richt hastily he past him till,
Demanding him what was his will?

Forsooth, "I can find nane," quoth he,
"Onehorse or foot dare fecht me."
"Then," said he, "it were great shame
Without battle ye should pass hame,
Therefore to God I make a vow
The morn myself shall fight with you."'

"Talbot, an experienced champion, with an iron frame and great skill in his weapons, dissuades the young adventurer from a contest in which he represents him as certain to lose his life. Meldrum, however, derides his assurance, and assures him that, with the assistance of God, he trusts to tame his pride:—

'I trust that God shall be my guide,
And give me grace to stanch thy pride,
Though thou wert great as Gow Mak Morne.'[1]

"The Englishman now returns to his brethren in the camp, and informs them of the combat which he is to have on the morrow with a young Scot, whose pride he means to take down.

'He showed his brethren of his land
How ane young Scot had ta'en on hand
To fecht with him beside Montreuil,
"But I trust he shall prufe the full."
Quoth they, "The morn that sall we ken,
The Scots are babfin hardie men."'

"When," continues Lindsay, "it was reported to Monsieur D'Aubigny that the squire had taken on hand to fight with Talbart, he greatly commended his courage, and, requesting his presence in his tent, interrogated him upon the subject. Meldrum then modestly acknowledged that he had for the honour of Scotland undertaken that battle; adding, that were he as well horsed as he was armed, he had little doubt of the victory. Upon this D'Aubigny sent through the host, and, collecting a hundred horse, bade the squire select the steed which pleased him best. He did so accordingly, and, lightly leaping on his back, pushed him to his speed and, checking him in his career, declared that no horse in the world could run more pleasantly. The picture of the youthful warrior setting out for the combat all armed except the head, with his helmet borne before him by his squire, is charmingly given:—

[1] Gaul, the son of Morni.

'He took his leave, and went to rest,
Then early in the morn him drest,
Wantonly in his warlike weed,
All bravely armed, except the heid.
He lenpt upon his courser good,
And proudly in his stirrups stood.
His speir and shield and helm was borne
By squyers that rode him before;
A velvet cap on head he bare,
A coif of gold confined his hair.
* * * * *
The squyer bore into his shield
An otter in a silver field.*
His horse was barded full richlie,
Covered with satin cramosie.
Then forward rode this campioun
With sound of trumpet and clarioun,
And speedilie sparrit o'er the beat,
Like Mars, the god armipotent.'

"Talbart, in the mean time, is greatly disturbed by a dream, in which he sees a great black otter rise from the sea, and fiercely attack him, pulling him down from his horse. He relates the vision to his friends, who ridicule his consternation; and, ashamed of his weakness, he arms himself at all points, and, mounting his horse, proceeds to the lists. The arrangement of the lists, and the meeting of the combatants, is extremely spirited.

'Then clarioums and trumpets blew,
And weiriours† many hither drew;
On every side come monie man,
To behald wha the battel wan.
The field was in a meadow green,
Where every man micht weill be seen.
The heralds put them sa in order,
That na man past within the border,
Nor pressit to come within the green,
Bot heralds and the campioums keen.
The order and the circumstance
Were lang to put in remembrance.
When thir twa nobill men of weir
Were weill accoutrit in their geir,‡
And in their handis strang bourdounes,§
Then trumpets blew, and clarioums;
And heraldis cryit, hie on hicht,
Now let them go—God schaw the richt!

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* The arms of Meldrum in Sir David Lindsay's Heraldry p. 111. are, argent demi-otter issuing out of a bar waved, sable.

† Warriors. ‡ Warlike habiliments. § Strong spears.

'Then speedily they spurrit their horse,
And ran to uther* with sic force,
That baith their spears in sindrie flaw.'†

"After an obstinate contest, Talbart's dream is realised: he is vanquished, and thrown to the earth with such force that his companions believe him dead. 'Then it was,' says the legend, 'that the squire leaped lightly from his horse, and, taking the wounded knight in his arms, courteously supported and comforted him; but when he looked up and saw his shield, with the device of an otter upon a silver field, "Ah," said he, "now hath my dream proved true: yours is the otter that hath caused me to bleed; but never shall I just again. Here, therefore, according to our agreement, I yield to thee both horse and harness."'

'Then said the squire most courteously,
"I thank you, brother, heartily;
But nothing from thee must I take,—
I fight for love and honour's sake;
Who covets more is but a churl,
Be he a belted knight or earl."'

"Delighted with these noble sentiments, the captain of the English takes Meldrum by the hand, and leads him into the pavilion, where he is served with a sumptuous collation, and highly commended by all for his valour and generosity. Meanwhile, Talbart's wounds are dressed; and the squire, before taking his leave, embraces him with tenderness, and bids him be of good cheer, for this was but the chance of arms. He then mounts his horse, and returns to his own camp, where he is received with much honour.

"From Picardy the squire proceeded to Normandy, as the navy of Scotland was still lying on that coast; and finding little opportunity of gaining distinction, he put himself at the head of a company of a hundred and sixty men-at-arms,—

'Enarmed well, like men of weir,
With hackbut, culvering, pike, and spear;'

and returned to Amiens, where Lewis of France was then encamped. As the war had terminated, however, he found no military employment; and although much courted in France,

* Against each other. † Flew asunder.

and 'asked in marriage by a lady of great possessions,' youth made him so 'light-headed,' that he did not choose to wed; and having fitted out a ship for himself and his soldiers, well furnished with 'artillery, bow, and speir,' besides the best wine that he could select, he set sail from Dieppe for Scotland. On the voyage, he was borne down upon by an English privateer, of far greater size and strength than his own vessel; yet he disdained to attempt an escape; and, after a desperate engagement, captured the hostile galæon, by boarding her. He then continued his voyage; and, on his arrival in Scotland, was welcomed home with much delight, and feasted by all his friends.

'Out thro' the land then sprang the fame
That Squyer Meldrum was come hame.
When they heard tell how he debaitit,
With every man he was so traitit,
That when he travelled thro' the land
They feasted him fra hand to hand,
With great solace, till, at the last,
Out thro' Strathern the Squyer past;
And as it did approach the night,
Of ane castell he got a sight,
Beside a mountain in a vale;
And there after his long travail,
He purposit him to repois,*
Wherest his men did much rejois.†
Of this triumphant pleasant place
A lovely ladie mistress was,
Whose lord was dead short time before,
Wherethro' her dolour was the more;
But yet she took some comforting
To hear the pleasant dalce talking
Of this young squyer, of his chance,
And how it fortuned him in France.'

"The manners of the times are strongly marked in the passage describing the squire's bedchamber.

'He found his chalmer weill arrayit
With domik‡ work, on board displayit.
Of venisoun he had his waill,§
Gude aquavitæ, wine, and aill,
With noble confits, brau, and geill;‖
And so the squyer fared right weill.'

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* Repose. † Rejoice. ‡ Napery.
§ Choice. ‖ Brawn and jelly.

"This adventure concluded, as might be expected, in the gallant Meldrum gaining the heart of this young widow; but discovering that he is related to her late husband, they delay the marriage till a dispensation can be procured from Rome. Meanwhile, as they have plighted their troth to each other, he remains at the castle.

'And as he levit pleasantlie
Ane certain time with his ladie,
Sometime with hawking and hunting,
Sometime with wanton horse rinning;
And sometime, like ane man of weir,
Full gaberdlie wald rin ane speir.
He wan the prize above them all,
Baith at the buttis and the futeball;
Till every solace he was abill,
At cartis and dyce, at chess and tabill;
And gif ye list, I shall you tell
How he besiegit ane castell.'

"Into the particulars of this siege we may not enter; but messengers having arrived in Strathern to inform his beautiful mistress that a baron, named Macfarlane, had violently occupied one of her castles in the Lennox, the squire declares his determination to proceed instantly against him.

'Intill his hart there grew sic ire,
That all his body brint like fire,
And swore it suld full dear be sald,
Gif he should find him in that hald.'*

"The squire now arms himself, assembles his men, and, with his lady's right-hand glove in his helmet, rides day and night till he reaches the castle, which, after an obstinate defence, he carries by escalade, exhibiting as much clemency in sparing Macfarlane when he lay in his power, as he had shewn courage and martial skill in the siege.

'And so this squyer amorous
Siegit and won the lady's house,
And left therein a capitane,
Thow to Strathern returned agane,
Where that he by his fair ladie
Receivit was full pleasantlie.'

* Swore if he found him in that hold it should be a dear purchase.

"In the midst of this solace there occurs a sudden and melancholy change, which is thus sweetly introduced by Lindsay,—

'Of warldis joy it is weill kend
That sorrow bene the fatal end;
For jealousy and false envie
Did him persew right cruellie.
I marvel nocht tho' it be so,
For they were ever lovers' foe.'

"Stirling of Keir, a cruel knight, who possessed an estate near this lady's castle, in Strathern, had, it seems, determined that a gentleman of his acquaintance should marry her, and, disappointed in his hopes by the arrival of Squire Meldrum, he lays a cowardly plot for his destruction. Accordingly, when about to cross the ferry between Leith and Fife, on his return from Edinburgh, where he had been called by business, he finds himself beset by his mortal enemy, with a party of sixty men. Yet, although only eight servants were in his company, such is his indomitable valour, that he disdains to fly; and, after a desperate contest, is left for dead on the field, bathed in his blood, and almost cut to pieces by unnumbered wounds. Anthony D'Arcy, Seigneur de la Bastie, a French knight of great valour and accomplishment, was, at this moment, lieutenant or sub-governor of Scotland, appointed by the Duke of Albany, then regent. He happened to be passing with his suite near the spot where the unfortunate Meldrum had been left by his cruel assailants, and instantly ordering a pursuit, and personally engaging in it, he apprehended the assassin, and had him lodged in ward, before a few hours had elapsed. Before, however, the trial came on, he was himself most cruelly waylaid and murdered by Home of Wedderburn;* and Meldrum, who now slowly recovered from his wounds, had the mortification to see his mortal enemy liberated from confinement, and to hear that his lovely mistress had been compelled to marry, in spite of the strongest resistance on her side. When the squire lay so grievously wounded in his lodging, the wisest physicians in the country are described as flocking unsought to give him their advice; and so ably did he profit by their attendance and instructions, that, in the course of his recovery, he himself became

* In 1518.

an expert 'leech,' and greatly benefited the poor by prescribing for them.

'The greatest leeches of the land
Came to him all without command,
And all practikis on him provit,
Because he was so weill belovit;
They took on hand his life to save,
And he them gave what they would have;
But he sa lang lay into pain,
He turned to be ane chirurgiane;
And als by his natural ingyne,*
He learned the art of medicine.
He saw them on his bodye wrocht,
Wherefor the science was dearlie bought.
But afterward when he was haill
He sparit na cost, nor yet travail,
To prove his practicks on the pair,
And on them workit many a cure.'

"Greatly weakened in his constitution by his wounds, but bearing a high reputation, not only for warlike experience but civil wisdom, Meldrum was courted by Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres,† an 'aged lord,' who delighted in his company, and prevailed on him to become his chief marischal, and auditor of his accounts. He was also made sheriff-depute of Fife,‡ and proved not only an equal judge and generous friend to the poor, but, from his wonderful knowledge of medicine, he delighted in visiting those who were sick or wounded, and distributing to all his advice and his medicines without recompense. The conclusion shews in a very pleasing manner his faithfulness to those vows which he had so solemnly made to his betrothed mistress in Strathern:—

'Then each year, for his lady's sake,
A banquet royal he would make,
With wild fowl, venison, and wine,
With tart, and flaun, and frutage fine;
Of bran or geill there was no scant,
And ippocras he wald not want.
I have seen sitting at his tahill
Lords and lairdis honorabill,
With knightis and mony a gay squyar,
Which were too lang for to declair;

* Genius.

† Our old acquaintance, "Mr. Patrick" of the stramping foot.

‡ By Lord Lindsay, the Sheriff principal.

With mirth, musick, and minstrelsy.
All this he did for his ladie.
And for her sake, during his life,
Wald never be wedded till ane wife.
And when he did decline to age
He faillit ne'er of his courage.
Of ancient stories for to tell,
Above all other he did excell;
So that everilk creature
To hear him speak took great pleasure.'

"After some years," during which he grew old among the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of his early patron, "this illustrious squire was seized with a mortal illness, and expired at the Struther in Fife, the castle of" John Lord Lindsay, the grandson and heir of Lord Patrick. "During his sickness, however, he had leisure to write his testament, which has been thrown into verse by Sir David Lindsay with much spirit and beauty. It is a remarkable production, and, independent of its poetical merit, which is of a high kind, may be studied with advantage as an authentic picture of a dying warrior of those times. It breathes from beginning to end the soul of chivalry. First, we have the squire's acknowledgment of the instability and brevity of all human existence;—my body, says he, is now weak, I plainly feel I am about to pay my debt to nature; but I here resign to God my spirit which he hath made immortal.

'My spreit hartlie I recommend
In manus tuas, Domine;
My hope to thee is to ascend,
Rex! quia redimisti me.
From sin resurrexisti me,
Or else my saul had been forlorn;
With sapience docuisti me,—
Blest be the hour that thou wast born!'

"Having declared his faith and trust in God, he proceeds to nominate three noble lords, all of the name of Lindsay, to be his executors,—David Earl of Crawford, John Lord Lindsay, his "master special," and Sir Walter Lindsay, Lord St. John, a noble travelled knight.* 'I do so,' says he, 'because the surname of Lindsay never failed to the Crown, and will never fail to me.' His injunctions now become minute. 'Dispose,' says he, 'of my

* The Preceptor of Torphichen, of whom I have spoken *supra*, p. 190.

wealth to my next of kin, according to your pleasure. It is well known I was never addicted to heaping or hoarding. I cared no more for gold than for glass. And ye, my dear friends, who are my relatives by blood, fail not, I beseech you, to be present at my funeral feast. Ye know how magnanimously I have defended that family fame which is dear to us all. As to the disposal of my body, it is my command that ye first disembowel it, and, having washed it well with wine, enclose it in a costly carved shrine of cedar or cypress, anointing it with delicious balm, cinnamon, and the most precious spices.'

'In cases twain, of gold and precious stones,
Enshrine my heart and tongue right craftily.
Then raise a monument above my bones
In holy abbaye, plac'd triumphantly,
Of marble blocks enseulptor'd curiously;
Therein my coffin and my dust enclose,
Within those solemn precincts to repose.'

"There succeeds a curious specimen of the general belief in judicial astrology in these times. 'It is certain,' says the squire, 'that the constellations of Mars, Venus, and Mercury presided over my nativity. To their influence I owe my fame in foreign lands. Wherefore,' says he, 'I leave my body to Mars, my ornate tongue to Mercury, and my faithful heart to Venus.' This conduct is eulogised by Lindsay as devout, pious, and charitable, so there evidently appeared nothing improper in this pagan style of testament, which to our ears sounds so profane and unchristian. The same strange mixture of warlike triumph and joyous devotion, of christian and classical imagery, runs through the whole. 'Let me be buried,' says he, 'in every way like a warrior; let there be no monks or friars, or anything in a black livery about my bier.'

'Dulll* weeds I think hypocrisie, and severe;
With heedis heklit doun athwart their een,†
By men of arms my body shall be borne;
Into that band see that no black be seen,
But let the liveries be red, blue, and green.'

"The funeral procession, or rather the martial triumph, is directed to be under the heraldic care of his friend, Sir David Lindsay.

* Mourning. † With hoods pulled down over their eyes.

'My friend, Sir David Lindsay, of the Mont,
Shall put in order my processioun.
I will that there pass foremost in the front,
To bear my pensil, a stout champioun,
With him a band of Mars' religioun—
That is to say, instead of monks and freirs,
In gude ordour ane thousand haguebuteirs.

'Next them a thousand footmen in a rout,
With spear and shield, with buckler, bow, and brand,
In liveries rich, young stalwart men and stout;
Thirdly, in order there shall come a band
Of warriors, that know well to wreck their harmes,*—
Their captain with my standard in his hand:
On barbed steeds a hundred men-at-arms.'

"It would be tedious to marshal the whole procession. The silver banner with the three sable otters, the helmet carried by a knight, the sword, gloves of plate, shield, and the coat armour, are all dwelt on by the dying squire with affectionate earnestness; and their places fixed for them in the procession. Then follow his barbed horse, and his spear carried by some brave man of his own kindred. After which the procession is to be closed by a multitude of earls, lords, and knights, clothed in the livery of the deceased, and bearing each a laurel branch in their hands—as a proof that the warrior, whom they are carrying to the grave, never fled from any field, or yielded himself prisoner to an enemy.

'Each baron bearing in his hand on high
A laurel bough, ensign of victory;
Because I never fled out of the field,
Nor yet as prisoner to my foes did yield.'

"Having arrived at the cathedral, after the gospel and the offertory, the squire directs an orator to ascend the pulpit, where, with ornate eloquence and at great leisure, he is to read the book of the legend of his life from end to end. 'Then,' says he, 'enclose my body in his sepulture, but let no knell be rung.'

'Let not be rung for me that day soul-knells,
Bot great cannounis gar them crack for bells.'

"I have given," adds Mr. Tytler, "a full, but, I trust, not a tedious analysis of this remarkable poem, from a conviction that

* Average their wrongs.

in all essential particulars the history is real, and that it presents an accurate picture of the manners and principles of the age, although richly coloured, and given with that freshness and spirit which most matters of fact receive when they pass through the mind of a man of genius. The reader will perhaps be amused at the high praises which the squire bestows upon himself. But we must recollect that Lindsay somewhat inartificially places his own sentiments in the mouth of his hero. Thus, in the conclusion of his 'Testament,' where he introduces an adieu to the noble lords and ladies of his acquaintance,* the dying Meldrum, with complacent vanity, and a strongly expressed conviction of his own delightful and amiable qualities, which runs through the whole story of his life, considers it certain that all will be inconsolable for his departure. The fairest eyes of France will be dimmed by weeping, the beauteous stars of London eclipsed by sorrow, and the lamps of loveliness, which illuminate the night of the north, shrouded in the darkness of grief. But most heartily does he bid farewell to the fairest of them all—the star of Strathern :—

'Ten thousand times adieu, above them all,
Star of Stratherne, my Lady Sovereign,
For whom I shed my blood with mickle pain.

Brethren in arms, adieu! in general
For me I wist your hearts will be full sore;
All true companions, into special,
I say to you, adieu for evermore
Till that we meet again with God in gloir.
Sir Curate—now give me incontinent
My crisme, with the holy sacrament." †

* The farewell to the family of his patron is affecting :—

"Adieu, my Lords! I may no longer tarie,—
My Lord Lindsay, adieu above all other;
I pray to God and to the Virgin Marie
With your lady to live lang in the Struther!
Maister Patrick, with young Norman, your brother,
With my ladies, your sisters all, adieu!
My departing I wat weill ye will rue!"

—*Works*, tom. ii. p. 318.—"Maister Patrick" was the Master of Lindsay, so celebrated in the wars of Queen Mary,—Norman was ancestor of the Lindsays of Kilquhiss; the sisters were six in number, and married respectively to Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes, the assassin of Cardinal Bethune, Thomas Myreton of Cambo, David Bethune of Melgum, a natural son of the Cardinal, Sir George Douglas, the deliverer of Queen Mary, Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie, and David Kinnear of that Ilk.

† *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, tom. iii. pp. 267 sqq.—Many years, I may add,

SECTION III.

Mr. Tytler's picture of Sir David's old age, and his observations on his last and most important work, 'The Monarchie,'—though based on what I conceive to be an erroneous impression as to the character of the Reformation advocated by the poet,—are so very beautiful, that, as in the preceding instances, I cannot refrain from substituting them in the place of what I had myself written on the subject.

"Although," says he, "the writings of Lindsay may be considered no mean instrument in preparing the way for the Reformation in Scotland, it is remarkable that we lose sight of the author when the revolution began in earnest; this was perhaps to his honour, as it affords a strong presumption of the purity of his motives, and the disinterestedness of his convictions.* He died indeed before the final and happy triumph of Protestantism over the Romanist religion, but much progress had been made previous to his death, and we might have expected that the fervour of his zeal, the vigour of his talents, his experience and knowledge of human nature, and the considerable station which he already occupied, would have pushed him into the foreground as one of the most active partisans in promoting the mighty changes which convulsed the country. But it was not so, and we are left to conjecture the causes which made him a spectator rather than an actor. It is not improbable that they are to be found in that penetration which, at an early period, detected the selfish motives which prompted many of those persons who became the Lords of the Congregation; and that, while he fervently prayed for the success of the work, he shrunk, with the feelings of a man of probity and virtue, from an over promiscuous association with some of its agents. Age too had by this time checked the power of action, and cooled the fiery intensity of ambition, whilst heavenly wisdom had purified and irradiated his mind. The world appeared to him in its true colours, a scene of sorrow and vicissi-

after his death, the name of "Squire Meldrum" was popularly bestowed on Colville of Cleish, ancestor of the Lords Colville of Ochiltree, who was thought to resemble, in his chivalrous and romantic bearing, the "valiant squire" immortalized by Sir David Lindsay.

* See Chalmers' *Life*, *Works*, tom. i. p. 42.

tude, the theatre of successful guilt and neglected virtue; the cradle, for a few short hours, of youthful happiness; the grave, for many a long year, of withered and disappointed hope; a once beautiful and blessed scene, on which man was the friend of God, and reflected in his life and character the image of his Maker, changed by sin into a gloomy wilderness, covered by the awful shadow of the divine vengeance;—instructed by such lessons of Christian philosophy, and full of heavenly musings, Lindsay, to use his own sweet language, appears to have

> 'stood content
> With quiet life and sober rest,
> And ta'en him in his latter age
> Unto his simple hermitage.'

"It was, however, no idle or unprofitable retreat, for in it he produced his longest, and, in many respects, his most useful work, 'The Monarchie.' It embraces the history of the most famous monarchies that have existed in the world; but, with a similar love of tracing the stream of time to its fountain head, which is so remarkable a characteristic in the Gothic chronicles upon the same subject, it commences with the creation and only concludes with the general judgment. To enter into any laboured critique or analysis of so interminable and multifarious a work would exhaust even the most gentle reader. The author throws his narrative into the form of a dialogue between Experience and a Courtier, opening the poem with a sweet rural landscape. Disturbed by his morning ponderings on the complicated distresses of this mortal scene, he rises early from his couch, and walks forth, on a May morning, into a delightful park—

> 'Somewhat before fresh Phœbus' uprising,
> Where he might hear the free birds sweetly sing;
> Into a park he past for his pleasure,
> Decorit weill by craft of dame Nature.'

The whole scene was beautiful. The dews hung like orient pearls upon the branches; the tender flowers, beginning to open, exhaled their richest fragrance. The Lord of Day, springing up from the gorgeous east, ascended his throne in his glorious golden robes, whilst Cynthia waxed paler, and, at last, her silver crescent faded away into empty air; the birds, awakening, sang their morning

welcome to the day, and all nature seemed to rejoice; but the charming scene failed to inspire with mirth the pensive bosom of the aged poet. He refuses to address any invocation to the fabled Muses of Greece or Rome. 'Such a strain,' says he, 'befits not a man mourning over the miseries of this world, and shut up in a vale of sorrow. I call no fabled Muses, Minerva, Melpomene, Euterpe, or even Apollo.—Were I to invoke any, it would be reverend Rhamnusia, the goddess of despite, but I scorn,' continues he, 'all such heathenish inventions, and only implore the great God, who created heaven and earth, to impart to me somewhat of that spirit which gave wisdom to Solomon, grace to David, and strength to the mighty Samson. Let me repair, then, not to Mount Parnassus, but to Mount Calvary; let me be refreshed, not by the fabled Heliconian rill, but by the blessed and real fountain which flowed from the pierced side of my Redeemer.' Walking onward, with his mind filled with holy aspirations, he sees an aged man sitting under a holly:—

'Into that park I saw appear
An aged man, that drew me near;
Whais beard was near three quarter lang;
His hair down o'er his shoulders hang,
The whilk as ony snaw was white,—
Whom to behold I thought delight.
His habit angelyke of hue,
Of colour like the sapphire blue.
Under a holyn * he reposit,
Of whose presence I was rejosit.
I did salute him reverentlie,
Sa did he me richt courteouslie:
To sit down he requested me
Under the shadow of that tree,
To save me from the sonnis heat,
Among the flowers soft and sweet.
For I was weary for walking;
Then we began to fall talking;
I speirit † his name, with reverence,
"I am," said he, "Experience."'‡

—The poem henceforth assumes the form of a dialogue between the author and this venerable sage, who, with great shrewdness and learning, and often with much eloquence and poetic fervour,

* Holly. † Asked.

‡ Sir David has probably taken the idea of this scene from the well-known vision of St. Justin Martyr.

delivers a kind of chronicle of human error and sin, from its earliest appearance in Eden, till its final doom in the day of judgment.* The tedium of this narrative is occasionally relieved by little episodes, in which the author speaks in his own person. Thus, in imitation of Chaucer and Lydgate, in England, and of his Scottish brethren, Douglas and Wedderburn, Lindsay introduces an 'Exclamation to the Reader, touching the Writing of his Poem in the vulgar and maternal Language.' His argument or apology is sound and unanswerable. 'I write,' says he, 'for Jok and Thom, coilzears (colliers), carters, and cooks; and I, therefore, make use of their language.' 'Aristotle and Plato,' says he, 'did not communicate their philosophy in Dutch or Italian; Virgil and Cicero did not write in Chaldee or Hebrew. Saint Jerome, it is true, translated the Bible into Latin, but if Saint Jerome had been born in Argyleshire, he would have translated it into Gaelic.'

"One of the most interesting portions of Lindsay's 'Monarchy' is that in the second book, where he considers the subject of the Catholic worship of images, and draws a vigorous parallel between the idolatries of the Gentiles and that of the Romish Church. Unlike the more violent reformers who succeeded him, he is far from uttering an uncompromising anathema against the use of images; on the contrary, if properly employed, he considers them

* Sir David's description of the day of doom is a fair specimen of his simple yet impressive style:—

"Then with ane roar the earth shall rive,
And swallow them, baith man and wive;
Then shall those creatures forlorn
Warie[a] the hour that they were born,
With many a yamour, yowt, and yell,
What time they feel the flames fell
Upon their tender bodies bits,
Whose torment shall be infinite.
The earth shall close, and from their sicht
Shall taken be all manner of licht;
There shall be growling and greeting,[b]
But[c] hope of any comforting;
In this inestimable pain
Eternally they shall remain,
Burning in furious flames red,
Ever dying, but never be dead;
That the small minute of one hour
To them shall be as great dolour,
They shall think they have done remain
Ane thousand year into that pain!"

[a] Curse. [b] Weeping. [c] Without.

useful helps to devotion, means which may be instrumental to the instruction and the fortifying the faith of the unlearned. It is only when we kneel and pray to them that they become sinful and unscriptural.

'But we, by counsel of clergy,
Have licence to make imagery,
Whilk of unlearned are the books;
For when the people on them looks,
It bringeth to remembrance
Of Salutis lives the circumstance,
How, the faith for to fortify,
They suffered pain right patiently.
Seeing the image of the Rude,
Men should remember on the blude
Which Christ, until his passioun,
Did shed for our salvatioun;
Or when thou see'st ane portraiture
Of blessed Mary, Virgin pure,
Ane lovely babe upon her knee,
Then in thy mind remember thee
The wordis which the prophet said,
How she should be both mother and maid.
But who sittis down upon their knees,
Praying to any images,
With orison or offerand,
Kneeling with cap into their hand,—
No difference bene, I say to thee,
From the Gentiles' idolatry.'

"The use and abuse of the temporal power of the popedom, the unholy lives of many of the clergy, the injurious effects of pilgrimages, the disastrous consequences which spring from the ignorance of the people, the happy results to be anticipated from the publication of the Scriptures and missals in the vernacular language of the country, are all enlarged upon by Lindsay, in a strain of vigorous and convincing, though sometimes homely argument; at last, Experience, having concluded his heavenly lessons, takes leave of his pupil in these sweet stanzas,—

'"Of our talking now let us make an end,
Behald how Phœbus downward does descend
Towart his palace in the Occident;
Dame Cynthia, I see, she does pretend
Intil her watery region till ascend,
With visage pale, up from the Orient.
The dew now douks* the roses redolent;
The marygolds, that all day were rejoisit
Of Phœbus' heat, now craftilie are closit.

* Moistens.

The blisful birdis bownis * to the treis,
And ceissis of their heavenly harmonies;
The corn-crake,† in the croft,‡ I hear her cry;
The bat, the howlet, feeble of their eyes,
For their pastime now ly the evening flies;
The nightingale, with mirthful melody,
Her natural notis pierceth through the sky,—
Till Cynthia making her observance,
Whilk on the nicht does tak her dalliance.

I see pole arctick in the north appear,
And Venus rising with her beamis clear;
Wherefore, my son, I hald it time to go."
"Wald God," said I, "ye did remain all year,
That I micht of your heavenly lessons leir§
Of your departing I am wonder woe."‖
"Tak patience," said he, "it maun be so,—
Perchance I shall return with diligence."
—Thus I departed from Experience.'

"'The Monarchy' appears to have been Lindsay's last, and it is, in many respects, his best work. It is nervous, original, learned, and pious—full indeed of many poignant, satirical attacks upon the corruptions and licentiousness of the Romanist clergy, yet less bitter, coarse, and scurrilous than most of his earlier productions. It is pleasing, as he advances in years, to find the author receding from the indecency which was the poetical vice of the age,¶—to mark the improved tendency and higher moral tone of his writings; and, while we sympathise with the pensive melancholy which tinges his last poetical legacy to his countrymen, to know that, when he entered his quiet oratory, he met there that stedfast faith, and rested on those blessed hopes, which furnished him with a key to all the sorrow, darkness, and vicissitude of this fluctuating existence.

'Be not too much solyst** for temporal things,
Sen thou perceivis pape, emperor, nor kings
Into the earth hath na place permanent;
Thou sees that death them dalefully down thrings,††
And rives them from their rent, riches, and rings,‡‡
Therefore on Christ confirm thine haill intent,
And of thy calling be richt weill content;

* Ilke. † Land-rail. ‡ Field. § Learn. ‖ Wondrous sad.
¶ I would qualify this censure so far as to say that if he is sometimes (especially in the interludes of his play, intended for the populace) extremely coarse, he is never prurient—in this resembling Shakspeare.
** Solicitous. †† Thrusts. ‡‡ Kingdoms.

Then God, that feeds the fowls of the air,
All needful thing for thee he shall prepare.'

"Of the exact time and circumstances of Sir David Lindsay's death nothing is known. It happened, probably, a short time before the disgraceful immolation of the venerable martyr, old Walter Mill, who was burnt at St. Andrews, in April, 1558.* It seems at first extraordinary that a man, whose writings evidently enjoyed a high degree of popularity, should have expired without any record or memorial, so that we in vain search the spot where the Lord Lion sleeps with his ancestors; but the fact is explained by the virtuous retirement in which he passed the latter years of his life, and the distracted condition of the country.†

"The family estate of Lindsay, called the Mount, from which he took his title, continued in the possession of his descendants‡ when Sibbald published his history of Fife, in 1710. It is now the property of General Sir Alexander Hope of Rankeilour. In 1806, a farmer of patriarchal age, who had lived for seventy years on the spot, pointed out to the literary curiosity of Mr. George Chalmers the site of the baronial family mansion; adding that, within his memory, the walls of the castle remained. All traces of them are now obliterated, but a pleasing tradition still points out a shaded walk, on the top of the Mount, where Lindsay is said to have composed some of his poems.§ It was called, in the

* Frederick Lindsay, Esq., of Mountjoy Square West, Dublin, (who has favoured me with much curious information relative to the Lindsays of the Mount, and his own family of Loughry,) remarks that Sir David's death must have taken place before 18th April, 1555, the date of "A letter to Alexander Lindsay of the gift of the said Alexander's marriage, now in her Highness's hands by reason of the decease of umquhile Sir David L. of the Mount, knight, brother to the said Alexander, to whom the said Alexander is nearest, and to be servit, heir of tailzie unto his heritage," &c. *Reg. Privy Seal.*

† *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, tom. iii. pp. 285 seq.

‡ Sir David never was a father; his brother Alexander succeeded him, and was father of a second Sir David of the Mount, inaugurated Lion King-at-arms in 1592, on the death of his uncle, Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet, the poet's youngest brother, who had held that office since 1568. Sir David, the second, of the Mount resigned his heraldic crown in 1621, in favour of his son-in-law, Sir Jerome Lindsay of Annatland, whose descendants, inheriting the Mount in right of their mother, assumed henceforward the designation of *her* ancestors. For a more minute account of the collateral representatives of the poet, see the Appendix, No. XXIV.—His present representative, as I believe, is settled in America,—see the List of Lindsay families in the Appendix, No. XII., art. *America*, and Chapter XVII. Section V., *infra*.

§ Chalmers' *Life*, *Works*, tom. i. p. 47.

youth of this aged man, Sir David's Walk; and, in 1801, when the woods of the Mount were cutting, the same venerable enthusiast interceded with General Sir Alexander Hope for three ancient trees, which stood near the castle, and were known by the name of Sir David's Trees. The liberal spirit of that gentleman probably needed no such monitor; but the trees were spared. It is likely they still remain, and the literary pilgrim may yet stand beneath their shade, indulging in the pleasing dream that he is sheltered by the same branches under which the Lord Lion was wont to ruminate, when he poured forth the lays which gave dignity to the lessons of experience, and accelerated the progress of the Reformation."*

The editions of Sir David's poems are well nigh innumerable; they have been published, singly or collectively, in Scotland, England, France, Denmark, and Ireland, and many of the early black-letter impressions are of the extremest rarity, and treasured by bibliomaniacs.† The last and best edition appeared in three volumes, octavo, 1806, illustrated with a life, notes, and glossary by the indefatigable Chalmers.

Nor is Sir David's name less dear to the herald and genealogist than to the poet, philologist, and historical antiquary. He had been appointed Lion King at Arms in 1530,‡ an office then esteemed of the greatest importance and sanctity, the Lion being the chief judge of chivalry within the realm, and official ambassador from his sovereign to foreign countries. Sir David visited the

* *Scottish Worthies*, tom. iii. pp. 295 sqq.

† The first collection of his poems was printed at Paris, or more probably at Rouen, in 1558, both in quarto and duodecimo; they were turned into "perfit English," and published in a handsome quarto volume at London, in 1566, and again in 1575 and 1581; while in his native country, 'The Warkis of the famous and worthie Knight Schir David Lindsay of the Mount' appeared successively in 1559, 1568, 1571, 1574, 1588, 1592, 1597, 1604, 1610, 1614, 1634, 1648, 1686, 1709, 1720, and 1776. They were also the first book printed at Belfast, in 1714. Several of the detached Poems, as the 'Dream and Complaint,' the 'Complaint of the Papingo,' the 'Tragedy of Cardinal Bethune,' and the 'Monarchie' were also printed separately in the sixteenth century, and the 'Satire of the Three Estates' in 1602. Chalmers' *Life, Works*, tom. i. pp. 83 sqq.

‡ For the reasons for believing him to have been appointed Lion King in that year, see Chalmers' *Life, Works*, tom. i. p. 11.

courts of Denmark,* of Francis I.,† and of Charles V, (the latter thrice), in that capacity, and proved himself an able statesman in

* In 1558, "to solicit ships for protecting the Scottish coasts against the English; and to negotiate a free trade for the Scottish merchants, particularly in grain. The ships were not granted, but the free trade, as it was convenient to both parties, was more easily yielded to the persuasive instances of our Lion King." Chalmers' *Life*, *Works*, tom. i. p. 26.

† This mission was to demand in marriage, for James V., a daughter of the House of Vendôme, but the King, going over in person, espoused Magdalen, daughter of Francis, who died within two months after her arrival in Scotland, to the bitter sorrow of the nation. Sir David's 'Deploration of the Death of Queen Magdalen' is an affecting tribute to the memory of her whom he sweetly calls

"The flower of France, and comfort of Scotland."

On the King's subsequent marriage with Mary of Guise, Sir David's ingenuity was put into requisition to provide masques, shows, and pageants to welcome her. The King was then resident at St. Andrews, and, as soon as he heard of her having landed at Fifeness, he rode forth, says Pitscottie, "with his haill lords, both spiritual and temporal, and met the Queen, and receivit her with great joy and merriness of farces and plays, made and preparit for her. And first she was receivit at the new abbey-yett (gate). At the east side thereof there was made to her ane triumphant farce be Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, knight, alias Lyon King of Arms, who causit ane great cloud to come out of the heavens down abane the yett, out of the whilk cloud came down ane fair lady, most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hand, and delivered them to the Queen's grace, in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open for receiving of her grace, with certain orations made by the said Sir David to the Queen's grace, desiring her to fear God and to serve him, and to reverence and obey her husband. This being done, the Queen was receivit into her lodging, whilk was callit the New Inns; and there she lodgit for that night, while (till) on the morn, at ten hours, she passit to the Abbey kirk, where she saw many lusty lords and barons, weill arrayit in their abulyiements (habiliments) against her coming; also the bishops, abbots, priors, monks, and canons regular, made great solemnity in the Abbey with mass-songs and playing on the organs. Thereafter the King receivit the Queen in the palace to her dinner, where there was great mirth of shawms, trumpets, and divers other instruments all that day."

The court resided at St. Andrews for forty days afterwards, entertained with justing in the lists, breaking of lances, archery, hunting, and other princely games, "according to a king and queen."

Alas! for the change "that fleeting time procureth!" The "lusty lords and barons," the gay ladies of chivalry, in their raiment

"Of gold and pearls and precious stanis bricht,
Twinkling like stanis on a frosty night,"

are dust! The spider weaves her tapestry in the halls of our Scottish Cæsars, St. Andrew's Abbey is now a crumbling ruin, the shawms, trumpets and organs silenced for ever; the town itself, still the seat of worth and learning, is yet but the shadow of her former self, the Ferrara of Scotland, lonely and desolate—

"Whose broken gates a cheerless welcome give;—
The ample streets, where once proud prelates rode,
And barons oft had met their king in state,
Deserted all! no sound of glee or mirth

many of the commercial negotiations of the day.—His Collection of Scottish blazonings, the earliest and purest record of Caledonian heraldry, is preserved in the Advocates' Library, and, a few years ago, was facsimilied and published in a handsome folio volume at Edinburgh.*

He is said to have written memoirs of his own time,† which are lost, unless the chronicle of his cousin Pitscottie (to whom, as I have already mentioned, he gave much historical information) has been attributed to him. Various works which he never wrote have been ascribed to his pen:—"Such," says Chalmers, after enumerating them, "are the works of Lindsay, and such the labours of others which have been mistakenly attributed to him

'Who got the start of the poetic world,
And bore the palm alone.'"

Not a word has ever been breathed against the private character of our illustrious clansman. "Sir David Lindsay of the Mount," says Archbishop Spotswood, "shall be first named; a man honourably descended, and greatly favoured by James V. Besides his deep knowledge in heraldry (whereof he was the chief) and in other public affairs, he was most religiously inclined, but much hated by the clergy for the liberty he used in condemning the

---

Disturbs the silence of the grass-grown path
Where bleating flocks obtain their scanty meal.
The long procession and the chanting priest,
The busy idleness, the hum of men
Are o'er! save where the hind and fisherman
Saunter, with steps unfrequent, heard from far.
Where lofty edifices towered on high,
The ragged cottage lifts its lowly head,
Whose owners gain—a pittance from the seas,—
Precarious element—precarious gain!
The venerable piles to learning raised,
Low laid on earth, or—if a spire remain,
Mourning his brother prostrate in the dust,
Where knees devout the marble pavement pressed,
The loathsome toad among the weeds his safe,
And holy water drops in dews from heaven;
The swallow twitters through the broken spire,
And ravens nestle on the sacred cross!"

The Stone, by Lady Margaret Lindsay (by marriage, Fordyce).

* Another interesting volume, entitled 'Collectanea Domini David Lindsay de Month, militis, Leonis Armorum Regis,' and dated 11 October, 1586, is also preserved in that great national repository, but is the work—not of the poet, but of the poet's nephew, the second Sir David Lindsay of the Mount.

† 'Acta sui temporis.' *Bale, Scriptores Britannie*, p. 224.

superstition of the time, and rebuking their loose and disorderly lives. Not the less he went unchallenged and was not brought in question; which showed the good account wherein he was held.*—"His personal deportment," says Dr. MacCrie, "was grave, his morals were correct, and his writings discover a strong desire to reform the manners of the age, as well as ample proofs of true poetical genius, extensive learning, and wit the most keen and penetrating."†

Of his personal appearance it were, perhaps, unfair to judge from the woodcut vignettes prefixed to the editions of his works published at Paris in 1558, and at Edinburgh in 1634. The discovery of a portrait were devoutly to be wished, but the search has hitherto been unavailing. We have all, however, formed our idea of the Lion King from the spirited sketch introduced by Sir Walter Scott in 'Marmion:'—

"He was a man of middle age;
In aspect manly, grave, and sage,
As on king's errand come;
But in the glances of his eye
A penetrating, keen, and sly
Expression found its home;
The flash of that satiric rage,
Which, bursting on the early stage,
Branded the vices of the age,
And broke the keys of Rome.
On milk-white palfrey forth he paced,
His cap of maintenance was graced
With the proud heron-plume.
From his steed's shoulder, loin, and breast,
Silk housings swept the ground,
With Scotland's arms, device, and crest,
Embroidered round and round.
The double tressure might you see,
First by Achaius borne,
The thistle and the fleur-de-lys,
And gallant unicorn.
So bright the king's armorial coat,
That scarce the dazzled eye could note,
In living colours, blazoned brave,
The lion, which his title gave.
A train, which well beseemed his state,
But all unarmed, around him wait.
Still is thy name in high account,
And still thy verse has charms,
Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,
Lord Lion King at Arms!"

* *Hist. of the Church*, p. 57. † *Life of Knox*, p. 31.

SECTION IV.

It remains for me only to add a few final observations, which may account, on the one hand, for the strange licence which seems to have been conceded to Sir David by Church and State in the midst of persecution,—and on the other for his withdrawal from the public scene during his latter years. Much, it appears to me, of what Sir David wrote has been interpreted retrospectively, in ignorance or disregard of the standard of opinion at the time. Those were days in which a difference of ten years might be that of ten centuries. It would be a very false idea to suppose that Sir David went the length either of John Knox in spiritual matters or of Buchanan in civil—that he would have tolerated the substitution of the Kirk for the Church Catholic, or of a republic for the ancient monarchy of Scotland.* On the contrary, in his latest as in his earliest works, he professes himself a devout Catholic, recognizing what he considers the legitimate authority of the see of Rome, but denouncing the corruptions, superstitions, and usurpations imposed on mankind by the degenerate successors of St. Peter,—resembling Luther in this rather than Calvin, and Savonarola, Dante, and the earlier Italian reformers, who lived and died in the communion of the church they satirized, rather than Luther,†—while his *beau idéal* of political government, to which it was the object of his ambition to educate his youthful sovereign, James V., seems to have been a feudal monarchy, constitutionally checked by a chivalrous aristocracy and a free commonalty, as exhibited in nearest approximation under the rule of James IV. Sir David thus presents a type of the struggle of the three succeeding centuries,—both principles, the Catholic and the Protestant, meet in his person in singular but harmonious opposition; and it is this psychological characteristic, together with the

* He undoubtedly concurred in inviting John Knox to preach, when in the Castle of St. Andrews, 10 April, 1547, but Knox's anti-Catholic views had not then developed themselves, and he had been in priest's orders for several years.

† "He was plainly a Lutheran in his principles," says Mr. Chalmers.' "He appears to have borrowed nothing from John Knox, who was born in 1505, nor from Calvin, who was born in 1509, and who were of course younger reformers than himself." *Life, Works*, tom. i. p. 44.

' Yet not, under any circumstances, in 1530,—see his letter, *supra*, p. 192.

high moral purpose to which he devoted his life and intellect, and the sound sense and indomitable energy which gave success to his efforts, which arrests our interest far more than his poetical powers, which throughout his career he subordinated to purely practical objects.* But the preceding observations may be rendered more clear by an analysis of his opinions, religious and political, as derived from his last and maturest work, the 'Monarchie,' and from the 'Satire of the Three Estates,'—and which may be expressed in a series of brief propositions as follows:—

That God, in creating us, endowed us with free will, to chuse between good and evil:†—

That we are all "fragile sinners," lost and in a state of perdition through the Fall of Adam:‡—

That we are saved by the virtue of the blood of Christ only, purging us from our sins, and this through a firm faith,—which avails not, however, without hope and charity, or charitable works:§—

That God foreknew before the creation of the world who would be disobedient and deserve reprobation, and also the number of the predestinate, whom he hath called and justified, and whom he shall hereafter glorify:‖—

That the Kirk, or Church, is Catholic and Episcopal,¶ and the Pope her head;** that through temporal wealth and power she

* Perhaps Mr. Ellis has taken the fairest estimate of Sir David's poetical merits. "At the head of the Scottish poets of this period stands Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. In his works we do not often find the splendid diction of Dunbar or the prolific imagination of Gawin Douglas. Perhaps, indeed, the 'Dream' is his only composition that can be cited as uniformly poetical; but his various learning, his good sense, his perfect knowledge of courts and of the world, the facility of his versification, and, above all, his peculiar talent of adapting himself to readers of all denominations, will continue to secure to him a considerable share of that popularity, for which he was originally indebted to the opinions he professed, no less than to his poetical merits." *Specimens of the Early English Poets.*—Mr. Tytler indeed has expressed a much higher admiration:—"It may indeed," he says, "be generally remarked of Lindsay's poetry, that there is in it far greater variety, both in subject and invention, than in any of his predecessors, not excepting even Dunbar and Douglas." *Scottish Worthies*, tom. iii. p. 226.

† *Monarchy*, *Works*, tom. ii. p. 364.

‡ *Mon.*, *Works*, tom. ii. p. 342.

§ *Mon.*, *Works*, tom. ii. pp. 334, 343; iii. 168, 170.

‖ *Mon.*, *Works*, tom. iii. p. 168.

¶ *Passim.*

** *Mon.*, *Works*, tom. iii. pp. 106, 115.

has declined from holiness,* and become a Babylon of iniquity,† —but that she shall ultimately, through God's word, turn to humility and to her first estate,‡—that this should be the object of our prayer, in order that she may become an example to the people,§—and that it is the office of the Pope, with the assistance of a General Council, to effect this reform :‖—

That there are many Antichrists,—and that all partake of the character of Antichrist who extol their own traditions above the institutions of Christ, and make laws contrary to Christ :¶—

That, as a general principle, all laws invented by man's traditions, contrary to Christ's institution, ought to be abrogated :**—

That Purgatory is an invention of the priests for gain :††—

* *Sat., Works*, tom. i. p. 439; *Mon.*, tom. ii. p. 169, and *passim*.
† *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. pp. 114, 150. ‡ *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 95.
§ *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 115. ‖ *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 110.

¶ "Whatever they be that makes ony law,
Be they never of sa great valour,
Pape, Cardinal, King, or Emperour,
Extolland their traditionis
Above Christ's institutionis,
Making lawis contrair to Christ,
He is ane very Antichrist."
Mon., Works, tom. iii. p. 127.

** *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. pp. 112, 177.

†† Sir David is especially humorous on the subject of Purgatory, as, for example, in the 'Monarchie,'—

"Peter, Andrew, and John were fishers fine
Of men and women to the Christian faith,
But they have spread their net with hook and line
On rentis rich, or gold, or other graith;*
Sic fishing to neglect they will be laith,
For why? they have fishit in, o'erthort[b] the strands,
Ane great part truly of all temporal lands.

With that the tenth part of all gude movable,
For the upholding of their dignities,
Sa bene their fishing wonder profitable
On the dry land als weill as on the seas,—
Their herry-water they spread in all countries,
And with their hose-net daily draws to Rome
The maist fine gold that is in Christendome.

Into their trammelled net they fangit[c] ane fish
Mair nor ane whaill worthy of memory,
Of whom they have had many dainty dish,
Be whom they are exaltit to great glory;
That marvellous monster, callit Purgatory,
Howbeit till us it is nocht available,
It hes to them bene very profitable.

Let

* Property. [b] Over across. [c] Caught.

That neither the Virgin, though "Queen of Queens," and always to be spoken of with reverence,* nor the Saints, though they are to be venerated, and their lives set forth for the edification of the people,† are to be prayed to or worshipped,‡—that God is omnipresent and omniscient, and that we have no need to seek help of any other :§—

That Images and imageries are lawful and profitable as the books of the unlearned, bringing to remembrance the lives of the Saints, the passion of our Saviour, &c., but that to kneel or pray to them is idolatry :‖—

That Pilgrimages are inexpedient, as conducing to idolatry and licentiousness :¶—

That Auricular Confession is a device of priestcraft to enhance its power, is constantly abused, and ought to be abolished :**—

Let thay that fructful fish escape their net,
Be whilm they half sa great commodities,
(Ane mair fat fish, I trust, thay shall not get,
Though they wald search o'erthort the ocean seas,)
Adew the daily dolorous dirigie!
Silly puir priests may sing with heart full sorry,
Want they that painful palace, Purgatory!

Farewell, monk'ry! with canon, nun, and frier,—
Alas! they will be lichtlist in all lands;
Cowls will na mair be kenned in kirk nor queir,
Let they that fruitful fish escape their hands;
I counsel them to bind him fast in bands,
For Peter, Andrew, nor John could never get
Sa profitable ane fish into their net."

— *Works*, tom. iii. p. 107.—In the 'Dreme,' written in 1538, and which is chiefly occupied with the moral reform of the Church, Purgatory is visited and described in the usual style of the early Roman Catholic visions.

* *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. pp. 144, 164.

† *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 5.

‡ In pleading, indeed, for the advantage of praying intelligibly to oneself, he says,

"In our own language let us pray and read
Our Paternoster, Ave, and our Creed."

Mon., Works, tom. ii. p. 351.

§ "The Father of Heaven, our Creatour,
Whilk dwellis nocht in temple nor in tower,
He clearly sees our thought, will, and intent;
What needeth us at others seek succour,
When in all place his power bene present?"

Mon., Works, tom. iii. p. 19.

‖ *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 5. Vide *supra*, p. 244.

¶ *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 19.

** *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 91.—Sir David wrote a little poem entitled 'Kitty's Confession,' expressly to satirize it. See his *Works*, tom. ii. p. 210.

That the Sale of Pardons is ridiculous as well as wicked:*—

That the prohibition of fish in Lent, and of meats created for the sustenance of man, generally, is not only a human law and unauthorized,† but a mark of apostacy foretold by St. Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 3 :‡—

That Dispensations from the Pope cannot clear the conscience :§—

That the suppressing of Truth by the sealing up of the Scriptures and the utterance of prayers and devotions in a dead language is a primary cause of the ignorance and vice of the people,‖ —that it is an absurdity to hear nuns singing psalms, and ladies and children mumbling their orisons, in Latin which they do not understand,—that if (as already mentioned) St. Jerome had been born in Argyleshire, he would have written in Gaelic, and that the Scriptures and Missals ought to be published forthwith in the vulgar tongue :¶—

That the ignorance and vice of the people arise, secondly, from the devolution on the friars by the clergy of their duty of preaching, and the negligence, ignorance, corrupt doctrine, oppressive government, and dissolute lives, both of clergy and friars :**—

That the Monastic Orders, male and female, having universally

* *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. p. 9.

† *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. pp. 102, 113.

‡ *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 113.

§ "Though the Pap for your pleasure will dispense,
I trow that cannot clear your conscience."
Sat., Works, tom. ii. p. 61.

‖ *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 150.

¶ *Sat., Works*, tom. i. p. 424; *Mon.*, tom. ii. pp. 249 sqq.:—

"Howbeit that divers devout cunning clerks
In Latin tongue has written sundry books,
Our unlearnit knows little of their warks,
Mair than they do the raving of the rooks:
Wherefore to colliers, carters, and to cooks,
To Jock and Tam my rhyme shall be directit."
Mon., Works, tom. ii. p. 346.

** *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. p. 68, and *passim*; *Mon.*, tom. ii. pp. 13 sqq.:—

"Christ did command Peter to feed his sheep,
And as he did feed them full tenderly:
Of that command they take but little keep,
But Christis sheep they spoilzie piteously,
And with the wool they clothe them curiously;
Like ramand wolves they take of them their food,
They eat their flesh, and drinks baith milk and blood."
Mon., Works, tom. iii. p. 102.

degenerated, and broken their vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, ought to be suppressed :*—

That the law enjoining Celibacy on the clergy is of human origin,† a mark of apostacy foretold by God, 1 Tim. iv. 3,‡ and productive of the worst consequences on the morals both of clergy and laity,—and that such of the priests as have not the gift of chastity (continence) should be licensed to marry :§—

That the system of Pluralities ought to be abolished,‖—that the purchase of benefices at Rome should be put an end to,¶—that benefices should only be given to men of erudition,**—that none should be appointed either to bishoprics or parsonages who cannot preach,††—that every parson should reside and preach within his parish, and every bishop within his diocese,‡‡—that if bishops cannot preach, suffragans should be appointed as their assisters, and supported at the bishops' cost, and that after the death of such bishops none should be elected unless duly qualified :§§—

That the corpse-present, generally the cow, and the "upmost cloth," or coverlet of the bed of the deceased—the mortuary or funeral present paid to the vicar on the death of each parishioner, should be abolished :‖‖—

That the right of levying tiends or tithes is questionable as regards its alleged divine institution, and at all events ought not to be abused :¶¶—

* *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. pp. 68, 116; *Mon.*, tom. iii. p. 151.—The good, on the right hand in the Last Judgment, we find accompanied

> "With Sanct Francis and Dominik,
> Sanct Bernard and Sanct Benedik,
> With small summer of monks and freirs,
> Of Carmelites and Cordeliers."

—He recommends, speaking of the "wanton nuns," "that fragile order feminine," that their rents should be

> "unit till ane better fine
> For common-weill of all this regioun,"

in the constituting of a new College of Justice.

† *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. pp. 102, 112.

‡ *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 113.

§ *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. p. 119.

‖ *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. pp. 61, 118.

¶ *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. pp. 60, 119.

** *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. p. 119.

†† *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 111.

‡‡ *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. pp. 71, 119.

§§ *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 111.

‖‖ *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. pp. 5, 53, 118; *Mon.*, tom. iii. p. 105.

¶¶ *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. pp. 107, 147.

That the temporal lands held by the Spirituality ought to be let in feu-farm, after the manner of France, to labouring men, for their assistance and security against ruin, and to keep them in readiness for war at the King's summons—not, however, emancipating them from due subjection to the superior lord:*—

That the oppressive exactions legally enforcible on the peasantry by their landlords, the "great gersome," or fine on the renewal of leases,† the "mercheta mulierum," that paid on the marriage of daughters,‡ and the "herezeld," or heriot-horse, that paid on the death of the tenant, consisting of the best chattel that he may have died possessed of,§ ought all to be mitigated, and the heriot-horse especially abolished:‖—

* *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. pp. 50, 57, 113:—

"And als, the Common-weill for til advance,
It is statute, that all the temporal lands
Be set in feu, after the form of France,
Til virtuous men that labours with their hands,—
Reasonably restrictit with sic bands
That they do service nevertheless,
And to be subject ay under the wands,[a]
That riches may with policy increase."

† *Mon., Works*, tom. iii. p. 147. ‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. p. 6; *Mon.*, tom. iii. p. 195.

‖ *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. p. 118.—The system of oppression under which the poor man was often ground to the dust by churchman and laic is thus graphically depicted in another scene of the 'Satire of the Three Estates.' Pauper, on his way to St. Andrews to get remedy of Law, tells his tale to Diligence as follows:—

"*Pauper.* Gude-man, will ye gif me your charitie,
I shall declare you the black veritie.
My father was ane auld man and ane hoar,
And was of age four-score of years and more:
And Mauld, my mother, was four-score and fifteen,[b]
And with my labour I did them baith sustene.
We had ane mare, that carriet salt and coal,
And everilk year she brought us hame ane foal.
We had three kye, that was baith fat and fair,
Nane tidier into the town of Ayr.
My father was sa weak of bleid and bane
That he deit, wherefore my mother made great mane,
Then she deit within ane day or two,—
And there began my povertie and woe.
Our guid grey mare was baitand on the field,
And our laird's lord taik her for his herysild:[c]
The vicar taik the best ane to the hald
Incontinent, when my father was deid,—
And when the vicar heard tell how that my mother
Was deid, fra hand[d] he taik to him ane other;

---

[a] Under the power or dominion of the landlords.

[b] The Scottish peasant still marries usually a woman older than himself.

[c] Herezeld, heriot-horse.

[d] Immediately.

That the laws of the realm ought, like the Scriptures, to be published to the people in the vulgar tongue:*—

That the Courts of Session and of Consistory should be re-

Then Meg, my wife, did mourn baith even and morrow,
Till at the last she died for very sorrow,—
And when the vicar heard tell my wife was dead,
The third cow he thinkit be the head.
Their upmaist claes, that was of raploch grey,
The vicar gart his clerk bear them away.
When all was gone, I micht mak na debate,
But with my bairns passed for till beg my meat.
Now have I tauld you the black verities,
How I am brocht into this miseries.
Diligence. How did the parson? Was he not thy guid friend?
Pauper. The devill stick him! he cursed me for my teind;†
And heichis me yet under that same process,
That gart me want† the Sacrament at Pasche.
In guid faith, Sir! though he wald cut my throat,
I have na geir except an Inglis groat,
Whilk I purpose to give ane man of law.
Dil. Thou art the daftest fuill that ever I saw;
Trows thou, man, be the law to get remeid
Of men of kirk? Na! not till thou be deid!"

—Sat., *Works*, tom. ii. p. 7.—The following affecting lament over the inefficacy of Sir David's exertions on several of the points above noticed occurs in Henry Charteris' preface to his edition of his collected works, 1592:—"What labours tuik he that the lands of this country micht be set out in feus after the fashion of sindry other realms, for the increase of policy and riches! But what has he prefitit? For when ane puir man, with his halill race, has labourit their lives on ane little piece of ground, and brought it to some point and perfection, then must the Laird's brother, or his kinsman or surname, have it, and the puir man, with his wife and bairns, must be shut out to beg their meat! He that tuik little labours on it mann enjoy the fruits and commodities of it; he mann eat up the sweat and labours of the puir man's brows. Thus the puir dare mak no policy (planting) nor bigging (building), in case they big themselves out. But although men wink at this and overluik it, yet He sits abone that sees it and shall judge it. He that hears the sighs and complaints of the puir oppressit, shall not for ever suffer it unpunishit."—"What has he written also againes this heriald (heriot) horse, devisit for mony puir men's hurt! But who has demittit it? Finally, what oppression or vice has he not reprovit? But thir shall suffice for example."—On the other hand, on the principle, "Audi alteram partem," let me refer to the Appendix, No. XXV., for an extract from a curious Survey of the estates of the Earl of Devon in 1548, shewing the very opposite view that was taken of these heriots, customs, &c., by a contemporary of Sir David. The rule of the noble Courtenays may, in truth, have been more lenient than in the ruder and less fertile districts of Britain. The Survey, it should be observed, is taken after the forfeiture of the Earls of Devon, and when the estates were in the occupancy of the Crown, which renders the testimony (as that of a public official) the more impartial and trustworthy.

* *Mon.*, *Works*, tom. ii. p. 351.

† Excommunicated me. ‡ Go without.

formed, being notoriously corrupt,* and their proceedings rendered less tedious and expensive,†— and that a court of learned clerks should be appointed to administer justice in the Northern parts of Scotland, so that the inhabitants might not be compelled to seek justice in the South:‡—

That no temporal matter should come before the Judges Consistorial, but that temporal men should be judged by temporal judges, and spiritual by spiritual:§—

That in Civil concerns the Spirituality should have only an equal voice with the Barons and Burgesses, as one of the three Estates of the realm, and that the two Temporal Estates, being agreed, should overrule the Spiritual:‖—

That the King is an officer set over the people, under God, to cause them to live in equity,¶—a mortal instrument preordained by God to rule his people in unity,**—and that his authority extends over the Church, so far as to enforce obedience to her own laws, and punish her neglect of them:††—

That, finally, if we may receive the testimony of an English contemporary to Sir David's aspirations for his country, they soared onward to times still prospective even to ourselves, in anticipation of a consummation as yet only partially attained to,—he is introduced by Dr. Boleyn, brother of Queen Anne, and who had visited Scotland and lived in the North of England, as "an ancient knight," sitting "in a black chair of jet-stone, in a coat of arms, in orange-tawny, as one forsaken,‡‡ bearing upon his breast a white lion, with a crown of rich gold upon his head; his

* *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. p. 49.

† *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. p. 72; *Mon.*, tom. iii. p. 149.

‡ *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. p. 115.

§ *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. pp. 73, 116.

‖ "My lord, be Him that all the world has wrought!
We sit not by whiderwye counsel or rocht;
Ye are but ane Estate, and we are twa,
Et ubi major pars ibi tota!"

Sat., Works, tom. ii. p. 29.

¶ "What is ane king? Nought but ane officiar,
To cause his leigis live in equitie!"

Sat., Works, tom. i. p. 454.

** *Sat., Works*, tom. i. p. 468.

†† *Sat., Works*, tom. ii. p. 87.

‡‡ Orange-tawny was symbolical of integrity,—tawny of being forsaken. *Polygraphical Dictionary.*

name was Sir David Lindsay upon the Mount,—with a hammer of strong steel in his hand, breaking asunder the counterfeit keys of Rome, forged by Antichrist. And this good knight of Scotland said to England, the elder brother, and Scotland, the younger,

"'Habitare fratres in unum
Is a blissful thing;
One God, One Faith, One Baptism pure,
One Law, One Land, One King!'"*

Triple, in fact, or quadruple the life of man would not have sufficed to enable Sir David to witness the results which his works conduced to,—and possibly he would not have been willing to acknowledge some of those results. But he would have rejoiced could he have anticipated the enduring affection with which the posterity of those he laboured for, the commons of Scotland, have honoured his memory. His life passed emphatically into that of his people: he was looked upon as a third with Bruce and Wallace among the household heroes of his country, and even in modern days he has been styled in terms requiring but slight qualification "the founder of Scottish feeling and independence."†

Times indeed are changed—the objects of his ministry have been accomplished, and his fame is fading fast into mere shadowy tradition; but, as a great poet and preacher, warrior and scholar, composing his poems on the tops of mountains, invested with the mysterious character of a prophetical minstrel, and finally killed in battle with the English either at Pinkie or Flodden-field, his memory survived till lately both in Fifeshire and East Lothian,‡—

* From Dr. Robeyn's 'Moral Dialogue,' printed in 1604.

† *Edin. Magazine*, tom. xiv. p. 476.

‡ Chalmers' *Life, Works*, tom. i. pp. 43, 47, from the information of the intelligent husbandman, aged eighty-three, mentioned in the text *supra*, p. 247, and who added that "he knew the spot, on the summit of the Mount-hill, where, it is said, Sir David composed his poems and used to preach!"—And as regards East Lothian, "there lately died," says Mr. Chalmers in 1806, "in the vicinity of Garnaylton, . . an old woman, who, with a most retentive memory, was a great genealogist. She constantly talked of the Lindsays of the Byres, and Sir David Lindsay; she used to describe the Knight's figure and dress; she could repeat many of his poems; and she said he composed them all on the top of the highest of the Garleton (Garnaylton) hills. All the old people, who pretended to recollect anything of Sir David, spoke of him as having composed his poems on the tops of hills; this seems to imply that they thought him a Merlin or Thomas the Rhymer, or some such prophetical minstrel." *Ibid.*, p. 46.

his works, with the national epics, Barbour's Bruce and Blind Harry's Wallace, formed till very recently the poetical library of every cottage North of the Tweed,—their popularity was unbounded, and many persons were living within the memory of man who could repeat long passages of them, and even whole poems, by heart. They were esteemed such treasuries of accurate information and sound wisdom on all subjects, that to say, "Ye 'll no find that in Davie Lindsay," was tantamount to the strongest expression of incredulity.* The description of a cottage of the olden time is not considered complete without the ploughmen "reading Wallace and Bruce, or Sir David Lindsay of the Mount;"† and among the few books which the lamented John Leyden‡ and Dr. Alexander Murray§ met with in their youthful researches among the shepherds' cottages, were the poems of "Davie Lindsay."

* Or, as cited by Mr. Wilson, "It 's no between the brods (boards) o' Davie Lindsay,"—"implying that not even Lindsay, whom nothing escapes, has noticed the thing in question." *Memorials of Edinburgh, &c.*, tom. ii. p. 216.—The proverb, "Out o' Davie Lindsay into Wallace," arose from the poems of Blind Harry and Sir David having been commonly read as class-books in the schools.—So in Pennycuick's description of a Scottish cottar's fireside,

"My mither bade her eldest son say
What he 'd by heart o' Davie Lindsay."

—"Almost within my remembrance," says Mr. Heron in his Travels in Scotland, "Davie Lindsay was esteemed little or no less necessary in every family than the Bible. It was common to have by memory great part of his poetry."—"In Colvil's 'Scotch Hudibras,' which was first published in 1691, Lindsay's poems are mentioned as a part of Ralpho's library,—

'There lies books and here lies ballads,
As Davie Lindsay and Gray-steel;
Squire Meldrum, Bevis, and Adam Bell.'"

Chalmers.—And to these *testimonia* may now be added the criticism of Andrew Fairservice on the poetry of Waverley, "Gude help him, an blind Quillad o' Davie Lindsay was ding a' he ever clerkit!"—and the recorded admiration of the Baron of Bradwardine, of Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck, and of Blind Willie in Redgauntlet.

† *Edinb. Mag.*, tom. xl. p. 659.

‡ *Life*, by Morton.

§ *Memoir*, in Chambers' *Edinb. Journal.*

CHAPTER XI.

"And haggard Lindsay's iron eye,
That saw fair Mary weep in vain."

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

"Lady," he said, "thou art a noble creature, even though thou hast abused God's choicest gifts. I pay that devotion to thy manliness of spirit which I would not have paid to the power thou hast long undeservedly wielded. I kneel to Mary Stuart, not to the Queen."

"The Queen and Mary Stuart pity thee alike, Lindesay," said Mary; "alike they pity and they forgive thee. An honoured soldier hadst thou been by a king's side; leagued with rebels, what art thou but a good blade in the hands of a ruffian? Farewell, my Lord Ruthven,—the smoother but the deeper traitor."

THE ABBOT.

SECTION I.

I MUST now revert to the year 1542, to the death of King James V., and the succession of his infant daughter, the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots. Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the next heir to the Crown, failing Mary, was chosen Regent. An union was proposed by Henry VIII. between his son Prince Edward and the Queen. The Reformed or Protestant party supported his views, as affording security for the enjoyment and permanent establishment of their religion,—the Catholics opposed them, preferring an alliance with France; Arran was the leader of the former party, Cardinal Bethune of the latter,—the former prevailed, and a treaty had been concluded in favour of Henry, when his precipitance in demanding the custody of the Queen and the guardianship of her kingdom defeated his schemes, and excited throughout the nation a jealousy of the intentions which at the outset revealed themselves so suspiciously. Cardinal Bethune seized the opportunity to unite all whom he could influence in opposition to the alliance with Henry, and the Regent himself went over to the Cardinal's party, abjured the Reformed faith, and broke off the treaty with England.

The Queen had in the mean while been committed to the custody of John Lord Lindsay of the Byres, together with seven other barons, who had as yet, it would seem, engaged themselves to neither party.* They received their precious charge at Linlithgow, and on the following day proceeded to Stirling Castle, where the coronation was soon afterwards performed with great pomp and solemnity.

Henry was fearfully enraged at this alteration in the Regent's plans; he sent a fleet to attack Edinburgh, and an army to ravage the Border districts, which, in Pitscottie's phrase, "were all broken, both South, East, and West;" while the feuds that prevailed among the Scottish nobles, and the conflicting interests that distracted their counsels, prevented for some time their gathering to resist the invaders,—"all whilks," says the same chronicler, "were very unpleasant to all true Scottishmen, and very pleasant to Englishmen."

The English invaders were however defeated at Ancrum-muir, in Teviotdale. King Henry, on hearing of it, "brunt like fire, and was boldened with ire, sa that a lang space na man durst speak to him,"—his death followed soon afterwards, but the preparations for invasion which he had commenced were carried on by the Protector Somerset, and an army of eighteen thousand men marched for the North. The Scots were defeated at the battle of Pinkie, on the 10th of September, 1547; whereupon the nobles, disgusted with such a rough style of courtship, contracted their young Queen to the Dauphin, and sent her to France in August, 1548. England of course was not propitiated by this measure, and peace was not restored till April, 1550.

Arran resigned the Regency in 1554, and Mary of Guise was appointed in his stead. At first she favoured the Protestants, but events which took place abroad altered her views. It was the moment of the great reaction of Catholicism against Protestantism, of the great counter Reformation, originating in the Council of Trent, which was the main spring of European politics for nearly a century afterwards. The Pope, the Emperor, France, and Spain united in a common league for the extirpation of Protestantism and restoration of Catholicism throughout Chris-

* March 13, 1542; *Acta Parl.*, tom. ii. p. 415.—*Pitscottie*, tom. ii. p. 429; Lord Herries' *Memoirs*, p. 5.

tendom. Elizabeth, who had lately ascended the throne of England, represented the interests of Protestantism—it was Elizabeth, alone, *versus* France and Spain, the Papacy, the Empire. Scotland, ever of importance in European politics as the check upon England, which prevented her obtaining an undue continental ascendancy, now acquired still higher consequences,—she was as yet neutral; parties were nearly equally balanced, and to incline the scale in favour of Catholicism became the ruling object of the League. By preserving Scotland Catholic, a thorn would be perpetuated in the side of Elizabeth which would prevent her from giving effectual assistance to the Protestants on the Continent—the great Catholic party in England would thus receive continual encouragement and support—Elizabeth's authority would by slow degrees be undermined, or possibly, by some happy combination of events, might be at once overthrown, and that of Mary and her husband the Dauphin be established in its room,—the reconversion of England to the true faith would follow, and the remnant of the heretics might be rooted out at leisure. While it must not be forgotten that, in the eyes of more than half of Christendom, Mary was the rightful heir to the English throne, through the informality of Henry's divorce from Catherine of Arragon, and Elizabeth was in consequence a bastard and usurper. Such were the views of the League,—the mingled Saxon and Norman blood of Britain implied a different destiny, but, had these views been realised, civilization and constitutional government might have been indefinitely postponed; Britain, like France, might have passed from the extreme of absolutism to the extreme of democracy; and the Church of England might never have unfolded her fair ideal to mankind.[*]

[*] I use the word Catholicism in its simple meaning, as the antithesis to Protestantism,—the one representing the Imagination, the other the Reason, as dominating in matters of faith,—while Christianity implies their due reconciliation in the mean of truth. My view of the Church of England relatively to these opposing systems is expressed as follows in my little volume entitled 'Progression by Antagonism:'—"That I may not be misunderstood, let me repeat, emphatically, that in representing the strength and preeminence of the Church of England to lie in this—that she is neither Catholic nor Protestant, in the exclusive or absolute sense of the terms, but includes both principles within her constitution, antagonist principles, generating perpetual life, activity, and progression—I assert her approximation, nearer than any other Christian Church, to the Ideal of Human Nature as represented in the Manhood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in whose perfect Intellect the two principles of Imagination and Reason were exactly balanced; and further,

Mary of Guise, however, like her contemporaries, had no such views of national predisposition,—she embraced the League with her whole heart; and the immediate consequence was the withdrawal on her part of what little favour she had extended to the Protestants of Scotland, whose cause, as might have been expected, was warmly espoused by their natural protector, Elizabeth. From this time, accordingly—throughout the Regency, the reign of Queen Mary, and that of her successor, James—we find Scotland divided into two powerful and hostile factions, Catholic and Protestant, French and English, in their politics and affection—the former, including the more ancient and powerful feudal nobles, adhering to the ancient faith, and supported by the League; the latter, including the nobles and gentry of lower rank, the middle classes and the commons, (who were now gradually rising in intelligence and importance,) adhering to Protestantism in its more rigid Genevan formula, and supported by Elizabeth:—While towards the close of this period, during the latter years of James VI., we may discern the first dawn of a third party, or rather, principle, intermediate at once, and comprehensive of both the former, and without support save from its inherent impulse of truth,—a principle advocating that constitutional development, blending the antagonist forces of Monarchy and Democracy, Catholicism and Protestantism, in harmonious and corrective opposition, which has become in recent times the strength and the distinguishing glory of Great Britain. The original line of the Earls of Crawford rank, as we shall find, in the former of these factions, the Catholic—the Lindsays of the Byres in the second, the Protestant,—and the House of Balcarres in the third—leaning towards Constitutional Government in politics, and to the Reformed Episcopal Catholic Church in religion. Each of these three Houses took a prominent part in the contest of opinions, each reflects that contest in its character and fortunes, and may be

maintain that the conditions laid down in a preceding page—that every Objective truth must be met by its Subjective correlative—that the influence of God exerted *ab extero*, and realised through the Imagination, must be responded to by the free agency and voluntary submission of Man, exerted *ab intero* by the Reason—and that if God descends from Heaven to communicate with Man, Man must ascend from Earth to communicate with God—are fulfilled in her constitution and doctrine, in her Apostolic Succession and Apostolic Faith, in a manner to which no other religious community can lay claim."

considered therefore as the representative, in the present 'Lives,' of the party it severally belonged to.

But the House of Balcarres as yet was not, and for the present we have only to deal with the representatives of the two former parties—the Houses of Crawford and of the Byres. The former, as you will perceive, the descendants of the Wicked Master, were thoroughly a feudal race—exhibiting little of that plasticity with which certain families, like plants and animals transplanted to a new soil or climate, have been observed to adapt themselves to the necessity of their situation and of the times, to develop new powers on which their former position had made no call, and which consequently had lain till then unsuspected and dormant,—they were Catholic at the commencement, and, though occasionally professing the Reformed religion, ever and anon relapsed into Catholicism, and were at all times advocates for absolute government; the Lindsays of the Byres were the reverse of all this, and remarkable, in the words of a modern writer, from the earliest times of civilization "for the fervour of their zeal about the reformation of religion, for the warmth of their attachment to every image of liberty, and for the steadiness of their adherence to all those measures which they supposed would promote them,"*—while this adherence and attachment ran to the length of fanaticism, rendering each successive head of the family the zealot of his time—whether under Mary, Charles I., or James II. It is between these two families, therefore, that our attention must be divided during the present and the succeeding chapter.

On the fact transpiring that Mary of Guise had joined the League, the Scottish Protestants lost no time in examining into their own private resources, and their first step was to summon the celebrated reformer, John Knox, from Geneva. He arrived, and from that moment till his death was the life and soul of the movement. Proceedings at the outset, and indeed throughout the struggle, were tumultuous—arising, partly from the "perfervidum ingenium Scotorum," which had become a proverb in Europe, partly from the feudal independence enjoyed by the Scottish barons, who, though receiving many a crushing blow from the sceptre of their kings, had never felt the depressing yoke

* Wallace on *Ancient Peerages*, p. 322.

of despotism. Patrick, Master of Lindsay, one of the first of the nobility who had joined the Reformers,* and an enthusiast in their cause, with the Lairds of Lundie, elder and younger, and many gentlemen of Fife and Angus, convened at Perth in April, 1559, resolving to put their lives in peril for the Gospel. Knox preached to them in the morning on the sin and abomination of idolatry, and in the afternoon, after they had dined, they returned to the church, and heard a second sermon on the same subject. When the preacher had concluded, a monk opened a "glorious tabernacle," which stood on the high altar, filled with little images of the Saints, which he exhibited to their adoration; a boy, standing by, exclaimed that to worship them would be idolatry,—the friar struck him, and the boy retaliated by throwing a stone which broke one of the images; this served as a signal,—the rabble could no longer be restrained; images, altars, ornaments, all were broken with indiscriminate fury, and the building itself nearly destroyed.† That same night they sacked the convent of the Carthusians, and those of the Grey and Black Friars the next morning. "Pull down the nests," said John Knox, "and the rooks will fly off."—The rage for demolition spread like wildfire, and almost every Cathedral and religious house in Scotland fell a sacrifice to it, with the exception of the Cathedral of Glasgow, which was fortunately saved by the Provost, Patrick Lindsay, who affected to participate in the zeal of the iconoclasts, but recommended them, for their own sakes, to defer pulling it down till a new church should be built—an argument to their common sense which saved the building.‡

The Queen Regent, supported by Arran, (more generally known by his French title of Duke of Chatelherault,) and by a body of guards, supplied by France, prepared to attack the confederated barons, but their party had increased to such numbers that she was fain to enter into a treaty, by which they consented to surrender Perth on condition that none of her French auxiliaries should approach within three miles, all controverted points being in the mean while referred to the meeting of the Parliament. The

* According to some, he was the first. *Ancient Sermon quoted by Wodrow, Biogr. Collections*, tom. i. p. 159.

† Calderwood's *Hist. of the Kirk*, tom. i. p. 441.

‡ Newte's *Tour*, 4to. 1791, p. 67.

Queen soon broke her word by recalling the obnoxious foreigners, on which the Lords of the Congregation, as the Protestant barons were now called, reassembled their followers and prepared for active resistance.

The two armies met on the 13th of June, 1559, near Cupar,—the morning was dark, and the fields covered with a thick mist, that for some hours prevented them from seeing each other; but about noon it cleared away, and the Lords of the Congregation were discovered drawn up in battle array, in three divisions, on the opposite side of a small river that divided the armies. Bloodshed was, however, averted for the time through the mediation of John Lord Lindsay of the Byres, now a very aged man, and who, though friendly to the Congregation, was more moderate in his views than his son and the confederates. The negotiation opened by a declaration on the part of the Congregation of their fixed determination to assert their religion by the sword, unless the Queen and her abettors ceased to molest them in its exercise. With this message Lord Lindsay crossed the water to Arran, the Duke of Chatelherault, and urged him not to league against his own countrymen in the defence of foreigners, whose next step would be to turn against and overthrow himself. "Obey God rather than man," he added, "and I doubt not but ye shall be in favour both with God, the Kirk, and the Congregation." Perceiving that this remonstrance had not been lost on the Duke, he advanced to the French division and their commander, Monsieur D'Oysel, and, after touching on the ancient friendship between his country and Scotland, and the impolicy of alienating so large a portion of the Scottish nobility as the Lords of the Congregation from the interest of France, pointed out their uncertainty of receiving support from Chatelherault, who, if they advanced against his countrymen, might probably attack them in the rear while they were engaged with the army of the Congregation in front. "It is an old saying," he added, "in Scotland,

> 'I may weill see my friend need,
> But I will not see him bleed,'—

think ye therefore that my Lord Duke will see his sister's son, the Earl of Argyle, murthered by you, who are strangers, before his very e'en? And besides this, the Congregation are far

stronger than ye are, as ye see, and are five for one, and know the country and the strengths thereof better than ye; therefore, if ye peril and lose yourselves in that matter, the King of France will not be content. And further, I know weill by their minds, that if ye and the Congregation yoke (engage in battle), whosoever escapes, you, Monsieur D'Oysel"—addressing him in particular —"will not; for they give you the whole wyte (blame) that they are pursued and quarrelled by the Queen, and that for pleasure of the bishops. Therefore be weill advised what ye do, and tyne (lose) not the hearts of Scotland and the good name that ye have win therein,—and think not that it will be a troop of French men of weir that will conqueis Scotland. Therefore use my counsel."

D'Oysel was impressed with the justice of these arguments, and convinced that "Scotsmen would not see their own defeat." The result was that articles of pacification were drawn up and subscribed by both parties, by which it was provided that the French should retire to Lothian, that the Queen should grant the Lords of the Congregation liberty of conscience to worship God, that she should ride up and down Fife as she thought good, with her accustomed train, but without any of her foreign guards, and that within twenty-four hours after the performance of these articles the confederates themselves should disband their forces.*

The Queen soon broke this compact, and garrisoned Leith with her French forces,—the leaders of the Congregation solemnly pronounced her deposition as Regent, an act of authority to which they were not competent, and invested Leith, but were unable to make any impression upon it, and, on receiving assurances of speedy assistance from Elizabeth, discontinued the siege, and dispersed.

Delighted at their failure, the Queen returned to Edinburgh, and soon afterwards descended with her French forces on Fife, where they "harried" Kinghorn, Dysart, and Wemyss, and blew up a castle belonging to Kirkaldy of Grange—the celebrated soldier, subsequently so distinguished in Queen Mary's wars. This did not pass unavenged. Kirkaldy and his friend the Master of Lindsay harassed them by night and day, themselves escaping

* *Pitscottie*, tom. ii. pp. 337 sqq.

many dangers,—the Master having his horse slain under him, and Kirkaldy being nearly betrayed in his own house. At last they laid an ambush before break of day, and waited for the appearance of the French on their usual foraging expedition. Presently forth came a hundred men, commanded by a French officer named La Bastie, who began plundering the country; the Master and Kirkaldy waited till they had got above a mile from Kinghorn, and then led out their forces. La Bastie, on the other hand, drew his men together within an old ruin called Glennis House, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Some posted themselves in the house, others in the court and yards, La Bastie himself defending the gate with harquebusses. Their position was very strong, the place being fortified with ditches and entrenchments, and the besieged were provided with fire-arms, which did great execution among the assailants, who had only their long spears, and were obliged to alight from their horses and fight on foot.

The contest lasted some time, and the Scots were beginning to waver, when a furious attack on the gate by the Master and Kirkaldy proved successful; they burst in, and the rest followed after them; the French Captain defended himself for a long time right manfully with a halbert, till at last Lindsay met him hand to hand, and after a long contest slew him with a stroke of his sword that cleft his forehead to his brains. Another account bears, that the Master struck La Bastie with his spear, "and glancing upon his harness, for fierceness, stumbled almost upon his knees, but, recovering suddenly, fastened his spear, and bore the Captain backward, who, because he would not be taken, was slain, and fifty of his company with him,"—"for whom," says Pitscottie, "the Queen made great moan, and especially for this La Bastie, for he was ane very manly sharp man." The rest of the party were taken prisoners, and sent to Dundee.*

Succour was soon afterwards received from Elizabeth, and the siege of Leith was recommenced on the 13th of April, 1560, and carried on with great vigour, the garrison defending themselves

* *Pitscottie*, tom. ii. p. 330; *Calderwood*, tom. i. p. 365; Spotswood's *Hist. Church of Scotland*, p. 141.—See, for a fuller and very spirited account of this affair, the 'Memoirs and Adventures of Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange,' just published at Edinburgh,—a most graphic picture of the times.

with the most undaunted courage, and cheerfully submitting to every privation. But the death of Mary of Guise suddenly changed the aspect of affairs,—all parties were weary of the war; a treaty of accommodation was entered into, peace was proclaimed between Scotland, England, and France on the 8th of July, and four days afterwards the French auxiliaries were embarked and sent home to their own country.

Power absolute now remained in the hands of the Congregation. The question of religion and church-government had been referred to the approaching Parliament, which met on the 1st of August. The Catholic clergy and nobles were completely out-voted, a Confession of Faith, embodying the principles of the Articles of Edward VI., was drawn up, and passed "almost by acclamation, the bishops declining the contest," while "the venerable Lord Lindsay, rising up in his place, and alluding to his extreme age, declared that, since God had spared him to see that day, and the accomplishment of so worthy a work, he was ready, with Simeon, to say 'Nunc dimittis!'" *

Mary received the news of this revolution with deep mortification, but the death of her husband the King of France, and the necessity of her return to Scotland, precluded the expression of her resentment. Shortly before her embarkation, she received an envoy from Huntley, Crawford, Athol, and other of her nobles professing the Catholic faith, assuring her of their fidelity, and entreating her to bring French auxiliaries, with whom, landing at Aberdeen, and being joined by all their power, she might march to Edinburgh, and disperse the Lords of the Congregation.† But Mary shut her ears to this advice, and sailed straight to Leith, where she landed on the 20th of August, 1561.

SECTION II.

Mary was now in her eighteenth year, and the most beautiful woman in Europe,—no one ever saw her without loving her. Her genius equalled her beauty. She wrote in Latin, French,

* MS. Letter, Randolph to Cecil, 19 Aug. 1560, cited by *Tytler*, tom. vi. p. 215.
† Spotswood, p. 151.

and Scottish, and in verse and prose, with equal elegance,—her speech was eloquence,*—she was skilled in painting and music, and in dancing unrivalled. Her address was fascinating, her heart kind, affectionate, and open,—her bosom the fountain of all good impulses; but she was careless of opinion and incautious to culpability,—and her Catholic education had blinded her to the wickedness of doing evil that good, or what she deemed good, might come of it. With this allowance, her piety was deep and fervent,—she had wished, when very young, to take the veil in the nunnery where she was educated; had she done so, observes one of her biographers, "her life would have been a blank in history,"—but she might have been happy. Her amusements were princely,—literature, music, and embroidery within doors, archery, hunting, and falconry without; her passion for the latter noble exercise was hereditary, and her father's ancient falconer, James Lindsay of Westschaw, had the happiness of attending her in the like capacity during the first year after her return to Scotland—and of dying before the commencement of her sorrows.†

Mary's religion was the sole drawback on the general pleasure with which her return was welcomed by her countrymen. They distrusted the sincerity of her acquiescence in the changes recently brought about. They even scrupled to allow her the exercise of her own faith in private, and a scene which occurred almost immediately after her arrival must have painfully convinced her what fierce spirits she had to conciliate. She had given directions for the performance of mass on the following Sunday in her private chapel. But "when the Master of Lindsay heard that it was about to be celebrated, he buckled on his harness, assembled his

* Witness, e. g., the graphic Calderwood:—"The Queen rode in pomp to the Tolbuith, the Parliament-house, three several days. The first day she made a painted oration. Then might have been heard among her flatterers, 'Vox Diane! the voice of a goddess! God save that sweet face! was there ever one that spake so eloquently?'"—*Hist. Kirk*, tom. ii. p. 218.

† There is a charter in the Great Seal Register by James V. "succumbenti suo, Jacobo Lyndesay," of the lands of Westschaw, vic. Lanark, on the resignation of Elizabeth Lindsay, heiress of the Lindsays of Carsleuch, co. Dumfries, a branch, I believe, of the House of Fairgirth. James may probably have been a descendant of it.—He had seven falconers under him during the life of King James; "they were reduced to four during the Queen's minority. His year's salary was 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, that of the Queen's Advocate in the Court of Session being only 40*l.* He was succeeded by Matthew Kerr in 1562." Chalmers' *Life of Queen Mary*, tom. i. p. 71, edit. 4to.

followers, and, rushing into the court of the palace, shouted aloud that the idolatrous priests should die the death,"—and it was only by the interference of Mary's illegitimate brother, the Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the Regent Moray, that they were preserved.*—On another occasion, when the Earl of Bothwell and some wild young courtiers had created 'a scandalous disturbance in the town, the ministers and leaders of the Congregation presented a petition to the Queen, praying that those who had committed such an outrage on the peace and morals of the city should be punished. "The flatterers of the Court," says Knox, "at the first stormed and asked, 'Who durst avow it?' To whom the Master of Lindsay answered, 'A thousand gentlemen within Edinburgh!' "—they said no more. The Queen reprimanded the rioters, and banished Bothwell from Court for ten days.†

It was Mary's policy, in fact, during the earlier years of her reign, to depress the Catholic and favour the Protestant interest. The Prior of St. Andrews, at this time her chief councillor, advised this with the view of conciliating the Reformed party and Elizabeth. We thus find the Master of Lindsay, a most ungenial companion for the gentle and refined Mary, sharing in her sports in the privy-garden at St. Andrews,—where it "would have well contented your honour," writes Randolph to the grave Burleigh, "to have seen the Queen and the Master of Lindsay shoot at the butts against the Earl of Marr and one of the ladies."‡ He was soon afterwards employed in her service, in a real warfare, against the Earl of Huntley, the history of whose rebellion and fall is still involved in mystery. Professedly a Catholic and adherent to Mary, he had tampered with her enemies,—and she ever afterwards distrusted him. Possibly she would have felt less strongly, had she then had experience how few of her nearest friends were to be trusted in that age of venality and intrigue; and, to say the least of it, it was imprudent to destroy a family which had risen to the highest power in the North of Scotland, and was certainly more inclined to her interest than to that of the Protestants.

Huntley, after long vacillation, took up arms, and stationed

* *Tytler*, tom. vi. p. 277; *Knox*, tom. ii. p. 270.

† *Knox*, tom. ii. p. 317.

‡ *Letter from St. Andrews*, 25 *April*, 1562, Chalmers' *Life*, tom. ii. p. 70.—The touching allusion to the 'Abbot' is thus founded on strict historical truth.

himself near the rivulet of Corrichie on the declivity of the Hill of Fare, a mountain in Aberdeenshire,—he was driven by the fire of the harquebusiers into the low ground, then a morass, where the Prior of St. Andrews, Morton, and Lindsay awaited him. The neighbouring gentlemen, Leslies, Hays, and Forbeses, who had been summoned to the Queen's banner, led the attack, but no sooner had they come within arrow-shot than they turned, threw away their weapons, and fled directly towards the royal army. "This is treachery!" cried Lindsay and the Laird of Pittarrow, "let us cast down our spears to the foremost, and let them not pass in amongst us." This was done, and pursuers and pursued were received on the same levelled weapons. Huntley's followers rushed furiously to the charge, but were repulsed by the Master with his Fife and Angus men, on which those who had fled so tumultuously a moment before rushed on the retreating Gordons, and did their utmost to assist in the victory that would in all probability have been won without them. Huntley was taken prisoner, without wound or injury of any kind. They set him upon his horse to lead him away, but of a sudden he fell to the ground, stark dead, without uttering a word, for his heart was broken. Lady Forbes, seeing his body lying the next day on the cold stones, with some canvas cloth hastily thrown over it, exclaimed, "There lieth he that yesterday at morn was esteemed the wisest, richest, and most powerful man in Scotland!"*

I fear you will think that I enter too minutely into these details,

* *Buchanan*, lib. xvii. cap. 39; *Knox*, tom. ii. p. 356; *Calderwood*, tom. ii. p. 198. —"The vale of Corrichie, the scene of this battle, is in the parish of Midmar, amid the mountain scenery of the Hill of Fare, or Kare, which is upwards of two thousand feet above the level of the sea. . . . The locality is nearly twenty English miles West of Aberdeen, near the rivulet of Corrichie, on the borders of Kincardineshire. An excavation on the side of a rock, in the vicinity of the vale, is traditionally designated the Queen's Chair, from the assertion that Mary halted at the spot, while returning Southward from Aberdeen, and viewed the scene of the then recent engagement. This, however, must be a popular error, for the Queen's progress from Aberdeen was by Dunottar, along the coast, to Montrose, whence she passed to Dundee and Perth." Keith's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, tom. ii. p. 169, note, Spottiswoode edit.—The battle was fought on the 28th October, 1562. The participation of Lord Lindsay in it is recorded as follows in the ancient ballad of the 'Battle of Corrichie':—

"Moray gart raise the hardy Mersemin,
An' Angus and many ane mair,
Erle Morton and the Byres Lord Lindsay,
An' cumpit at the Hill o' Fare."

but to give traits and anecdotes detachedly from their historical context would render the whole unintelligible, and preclude all appreciation of the motives and principles by which the conduct of those I speak of was governed. I have no intention, however, of entering upon the long contested question, how far our ill-fated Queen merited her misfortunes; enough, that of the charges so industriously propagated against her, none have been substantiated, and many have been disproved; enough, that had her errors been crimes, her self-constituted judges were guiltier than herself,—were they merely indiscretions, still less should the arrows that pierced her to the quick have been winged by the malice and ingratitude of a brother. It must not however be overlooked that Mary's misfortunes were less the consequence of her personal errors, of her brother's treason, or the cruelty of Elizabeth, than of her political position as the centre of all the intrigues that then agitated Europe. She was a martyr to the League—a martyr to Catholicism; and devoted herself for her Church as heroically and humbly as the royal maiden of Alexandria, St. Catherine. The defence of England and of Elizabeth rests on precisely the same ground of European security as that of Great Britain for the imprisonment of Napoleon on the rock of St. Helena. The circumstances were exactly parallel—no capitulation or treaty took place in either case—and in neither was faith broken. Both were acts of self-preservation on the part of contemporaries, for which the reason of posterity acquits them, but which feeling can never look back upon without an uncomfortable misgiving. I limit this defence of course to Mary's imprisonment, not her murder.

John Lord Lindsay, the venerable mediator of 1559, dying in 1563,* his son, the Master, became sixth Lord Lindsay of the Byres. Fiercest and most bigoted of the Lords of the Congregation, and doomed to an unenviable immortality in the pages of Sir Walter Scott, he was yet an honester man than most of his contemporaries, and his zeal for the establishment of Protestantism seems to have been sincere, however alloyed by meaner motives. The appropriation of Church property was the vice of the Reformation, and he shared in it, though to a less extent than might have been expected.† He obtained a confirmation of his heredi-

* For his children, *vide supra*, p. 240.

† He had a charter of the Dominical lands of the monastery of Haddington, with

tary office of Justiciary of St. Andrews, to be held henceforward of the Crown in lieu of the Scottish primates,—an office including the subordinate functions of Admiral, Great Customer, and Searcher of the city and port of St. Andrews, and of Stewart, Baillie, Justiciar General, and Coroner, there, as well as throughout the extensive regality formerly held by the Archbishops, whose great feudal weight and power were thus reflected upon himself and his descendants.* Personally, he was an excellent soldier, accomplished in all warlike exercises, though extremely shortsighted,—quick and hasty in temper, but easily persuaded if allowed a few "glorious words" at the beginning; as the poor Queen expressed it in sketching his character but three years before her death in England†—in manners bluff and rude, in intellect uncrafty, straightforward, and unsuspicious—"the hero," in short, "of the party," and "a man they could not weill want,"‡ as an earlier historian of the Lindsays expresses it, "to execute their boldest enterprises,"§—a bitter enemy, I may add, while his rival's star prevailed, but the first to forgive and take his part when his own had gained the ascendant,—a character, with all its imperfections, preferable to that of the dark and avaricious Morton, the cold and perfidious Moray, the polished but impenetrable Ruthven, the subtle and sceptical Lethington; and which Sir Walter Scott has happily expressed in the parting salutation of Queen Mary, "An honoured soldier hadst thou been by a King's side—leagued with rebels, what art thou but a good blade in the hands of a ruffian!"‖—I have little doubt indeed that circum-

the tithes of Mairtown, Drem, and Drymhills, 9 Dec. 1580. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*—and had previously obtained from the Prioress of the said monastery a tack of the tiends, or tithes, both parsonage and vicarage, of the parish of Crail. I do not know of any other Church property acquired by him.

* *Crawford Case*, p. 23.—"In this way, what is called the 'Golden Charter' of St. Andrews, conferring regal privileges and immunities, including the right of a free mint, upon the See, with numbers of the primatical muniments and title-deeds, &c., are still extant in the Lindsay Charter-chest at Crawford Priory, Fifeshire, now, with the residue of the Lindsay of Byres estate, possessed by the Earl of Glasgow, the heir of entail of the family by female descent." *Ibid.*—For the original acquisition of the Justiciarship in the fourteenth century, *vide supra*, p. 52.—It was included along with the Dominical lands of Haddington in the charter of 9 Dec. 1580. The office was retained in the family till the passing of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act in 1748.

† Tytler, *Hist.*, tom. viii. p. 159.

‡ Do without.

§ Crawford's *Hist. Lindsays*, MS.

‖ *The Abbot.*

stances made him what he was. He was closely allied in blood with the Lords of the Congregation,—one of his sisters was married to Norman Leslie, the notorious Master of Rothes, and murderer of Cardinal Bethune,—another to Sir George Douglas, the hero of the escape from Lochleven,—while his own wife was the beautiful Euphemia Douglas, the eldest of Sir George's seven sisters, commonly called the Seven Fair Porches of Lochleven;* Moray, the Prior of St. Andrews, was thus his brother-in-law, and Darnley and Morton his near kinsmen. Genealogy is ever a most useful lamp in the hand of history, as throwing light on the combinations of politics in early times.†

On the 29th of July, 1565, the Queen married her cousin-

* *Memoirs of the Somervilles*, tom. i. p. 413.—They "were the wonder of the age wherein they lived," says the noble writer, "both for virtue and beauty, and other commendable qualities requisite in that sex."

† "The blunt-witted but stout-hearted Lord of the Byres," says the editor of Calderwood's History, "who was so effective a champion of the Reformation, has been distorted into every form that wit or malignity could devise, chiefly, it is to be suspected, from the alleged harshness of his dealings with Queen Mary." Tom. ii. p. 517.—On the latter point I shall make a few observations hereafter—but there can be no question of his having been a rough diamond. His handwriting* testifies to his character, being evidently that of one who feels a difficulty in controlling the vehemence of a hand accustomed to the sword. His portrait is drawn to the life in the speech attributed to him in the report of the conference between the Regent Moray and his friends, which appeared immediately after the murder of the Regent,—a conference forged by Thomas Maitland, brother of the celebrated Lethington, with the view of blackening the Regent's memory, and in which the style and manner of each speaker were so graphically sketched that many were deceived by it. Lord Lindsay is the first that speaks, and his words are as follows:—"My Lord, ye knaw of auld that I was ever more rash nor (than) wise. I can nocht giff you nae very witty counsel, but I luif (love) you weill anough. To be short, what should ye do but use counsel,—whilk ye did never yet; therefore I think the devil cansit mon chuse you to be Regent. My Lord, make us quit of thir Machiavellian and langster (turbulent) lords, that will circumvene you with their policy and wreck you with their force. And when 'ye fall to them, board not (jest not) with them,—for, be God's breid (bread)! if ye take them in mowes (deal with them otherwise than in earnest), I will pass to the Byres, and hawk, as I did this last time at your being in Striveling (Stirling). But gar them dance hoidlens,—and then ilk guid fellow may get ane lump of their lands, whilk will gar them fecht like swine,—and other men will beware of the spang (lash) of their tail. And gif there be ony stout earle that will fecht, set me till him, and I shall giff him ane ballado with ane stockado. And gif he be ane het (hot) man, I shall let him play him ane while, and syne take him a *coup de jarret*, and let him lie there. And when the principals are

* See the facsimile of it in the page of autographs at the beginning of Chapter VII. of this volume.

german, Henry Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox, and great-grandson of Henry VII. of England. The ceremony was performed in the chapel of Holyrood-house early in the morning. Dancing and festivities succeeded till dinner-time, when David Earl of Crawford, the son of the Wicked Master, officiated as cupbearer to her Majesty.[a]

this ways dispeschit (despatched), ye may do with the gogies[a] what ye list. Gif we had the auld Craig (Edinburgh Castle) in our hands, I wald like matters the better, but ye knaw I will nocht speak agains Grange.[b] But yet I think to be even with him, and gif him ane haill wage (full payment), for taking the Earl of Rothes' part agains me!"—"Ye will not believe," adds the reporter, "when he put on his bonnet, how great a laughter was in the house. And syne my Lord Regent saith, 'Yea weill,' Sirs[c] for all his rudness in speaking, he kenneth weill aneugh whereat he wald be!' And then they swore all, with one voice, 'the devil speed them, but my Lord hath spoken weill!'" *Calderwood*, tom. ii. p. 317; *Bannatyne Miscellany*, tom. i. p. 31.—Finally, I subjoin Sir Walter's graphic description of Lord Lindsay's appearance in the 'Abbot':—"Lord Lindesay of the Byres was rather touched than stricken with years. His upright stature and strong limbs still showed him fully equal to all the exertions and fatigues of war. His thick eyebrows, now partially grizzled, lowered over large eyes, full of dark fire, which seemed yet darker from the uncommon depth at which they were set in his head. His features, naturally strong and harsh, had their sternness exaggerated by one or two scars received in battle. These features, naturally calculated to express the harsher passions, were shaded by an open steel cap, with a projecting front, but having no visor, over the gorget of which fell the black and grizzled beard of the grim old Baron, and totally hid the lower part of his face. The rest of his dress was a loose buff coat, which had once been lined with silk and adorned with embroidery, but which seemed much stained with travel, and damaged with cuts, received probably in battle. It covered a corslet, which had once been of polished steel, fairly gilded, but was now somewhat injured with rust. A sword of antique make and uncommon size, framed to be wielded with both hands, a kind of weapon which was then beginning to go out of use, hung from his neck in a baldrick, and was so disposed as to traverse his whole person, the huge hilt appearing over his left shoulder and the point reaching well nigh to the right heel, and jarring against his spur as he walked. This unwieldy weapon could only be unsheathed by pulling the handle over the left shoulder, for no human arm was long enough to draw it in the usual manner. The whole equipment was that of a rude warrior, negligent of his exterior even to misanthropical sullenness, and the short, harsh, haughty tone, which he used towards his attendants, belonged to the same misanthropical character."

[a] Lord Herries' *Memoirs*, p. 143.

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[a] "Their gay and wanton followers, worthy only of contempt, apart from their leaders,—such seems to be the meaning of the word. It is evidently akin to the French "gogaulu," &c. See Wachter's *Dict. Universal*, in voce.

[b] His old companion in arms in the wars of Mary of Guise. *Vide supra*, p. 270.

[c] In the struggle for the hereditary Sheriffdom of Fife.

[d] Apparently the German "ja wohl!"

This match gave much offence to Moray, Chatelherault, and a few others, but most of all to Elizabeth, who encouraged them to rise in arms; but, after dodging up and down the country in such a manner that the insurrection was ever afterwards called in derision the Runabout Raid, they were obliged to disband their forces and retreat into England. The marriage turned out unhappily both for Darnley and Mary; Darnley's head was turned by his elevation, he treated the Queen with great disrespect, and disgusted her by repeated solicitations for the Crown Matrimonial, which she had rashly promised him before discovering his incapacity,—his importunities had no effect, and Darnley, imagining that the advice of Rizzio, her secretary, influenced her against him, conceived an implacable hatred against that unhappy man, and determined on his destruction.

But a deeper cause conspired at this moment to further Darnley's designs. Rizzio was universally known to be the Queen's adviser and confidant, and was supposed to be the agent of her correspondence with Rome. Moray and the other heroes of the Runabout Raid were still in exile and unforgiven,—Mary had been disposed to pardon them, but envoys from Rome arrived at this moment to engage her to join the League in support of Catholicism,—she did so, and their advice, seconded by that of Rizzio, determined her to attaint them at the approaching Parliament. This would have been virtually to overthrow the Reformed religion in Scotland. Other measures were also understood to be in preparation for that end,—and Rizzio was ever at her side, urging them on to its destruction; and it was even supposed that the Queen intended him to act as Chancellor in the ensuing Parliament. It became an object therefore to prevent or postpone this Parliament, and the murder of Rizzio was resolved upon for that purpose. So important and desperate was the crisis, that the Kirk and Knox himself seem to have sanctioned the deed,—not indeed from mere expediency, but in accordance with one of the ruling tenets of their creed, that idolatry and the persecution of God's Saints were punishable by death, and by the hand of private individuals, should the ordinary channels of justice be closed up. Elizabeth also, with deeper guilt, was privy to it.*

* Tytler, *Hist. Scot.*, vol. vii. p. 433.—And see Dr. MacCrie's observations on

Bonds were drawn up between Darnley and the conspirators, Morton, Lindsay of the Byres, Ruthven, and others, Darnley engaging to use his influence with the Queen for the recall of Moray and his associates—they, to procure for Darnley the Crown Matrimonial, on his solemn pledge to protect the Protestant faith and acknowledge himself the head of the enterprise in case of success.*

The execution of the plot is familiar to every one. On the evening of the 9th of March, 1565-6, Lindsay and Morton, with one hundred and fifty men, armed and carrying torches, occupied the palace-court of Holyrood and Darnley's apartment on the ground-floor, while Ruthven and Darnley ascended to the Queen's apartments by a private stair, to arrest the unhappy Rizzio. They had intended, it is said, as in the parallel case of Cochrane under James III., to have tried and hanged him on the following morning—at the very best, a mockery of justice; but the zeal of their followers precipitated matters, and he was cruelly murdered almost in the Queen's presence.† The body was thrown down stairs, and cast on an old chest in the porter's lodge. "This hath been his destiny!" said that menial's menial, stripping the body; "On this chest was his first bed when he entered into this place, and now here he lieth again—a very ingrate and misknowing knave!"‡

This outrage effectually "stayed" the Parliament, and secured the object it was intended for,—but the conspirators suffered as they deserved; Darnley not merely betrayed them, but did his utmost to bring them to justice, persuading the Queen of his own innocence; and while Moray and the Rumabout Raid party, for whose return they had stipulated, were recalled and pardoned, they themselves were in their turn proscribed and driven into England. They were subsequently pardoned at the request of Huntley and Argyle,§ and returned to Scotland towards the beginning of 1567. Crawford in the mean while had obtained a

the opinions of John Knox, extending to the doctrine of tyrannicide, as held by the ancients and Buchanan, *Life*, p. 30.

* Lord Herries' *Memoirs*, p. 75; *Spotswood*, p. 194.

† *Tytler*, tom. vii. p. 84.

‡ Lord Ruthven's *Relation of the Death of David Rizzio*, *Scotia Rediviva*, tom. i. p. 351.

§ On the 24th Dec. 1566, *Privy Seal Register*; *Spotswood*, p. 196.

gift of the escheat or forfeiture of Lord Lindsay, in reward for his good service to the Queen and her mother,*—a grant that, I presume, became null on Lindsay's return.

In the mean while, an heir had been born to Darnley and the Queen, afterwards King James VI., under whose rule the two kingdoms, so long at variance, were finally united. He was baptized on the 17th of December in Stirling Castle with great magnificence, after which the Queen passed to the great hall of the castle, and banqueted in royal state with the foreign ambassadors, who were waited upon by the principal Scottish nobles, Crawford, Rothes, and Eglinton attending the representative of Queen Elizabeth. "After great dancing and playing," says the annalist, "all partit to their lodgings."†

SECTION III.

I must now pass rapidly over some of the darkest passages in Scottish history. Owing to Darnley's offensive conduct, the Queen had long been on ill terms with him, and Bothwell, a bold, licentious, but accomplished noble, who had lately returned to Scotland, and insinuated himself into her confidence, schemed his murder. Argyle, Huntley, Morton, Maitland of Lethington, and others were in the plot, and Moray was cognisant of it. But I have seen nothing to implicate Lindsay, though all his friends were engaged in it. The murder was effected on the night of the 9th of February, 1566-7.

Whatever might be the cause, the Queen was singularly remiss in pursuing the murderers of her husband; and her partiality for Bothwell, while every tongue branded him as their chief, did not diminish. He was tried for the crime, but the jury were overawed into acquittal. Events hurried on with painful rapidity; a divorce was obtained from his wife, and he received the Dukedom of Orkney and the hand of the Queen in marriage on the 15th of May, 1567. All Scotland wept, and Bothwell soon proved himself a yet crueller and more tyrannical husband than Darnley.

* Under the privy seal, 7 May, 1566. *Privy Seal Register.*
† Johnston's *History*, MS.—Chambers' *Life of James I.*

A bond had been entered into some weeks before between Argyle, Morton, Athol, Lindsay, and others, for the rescue of the Queen from Bothwell, the preservation and safe keeping of the infant Prince, and the punishment of the King's murderers,*—several of the subscribers themselves ranking among the number. The Lords (as they styled themselves) of the Secret Council assembled their forces, and attempted to surprise the Queen and Bothwell at Borthuik Castle; they escaped with great difficulty to Dunbar, where they collected their forces and marched against the rebels.

The armies met near Musselburgh on the morning of the 15th of June. The Queen and Bothwell had stationed themselves on Carberry Hill, a point of vantage. But their quarrel was unpopular, and their followers were fast deserting to the enemy. De Croc, the French ambassador, attempted, but in vain, to bring about a friendly understanding, assuring the confederates that the Queen would forgive their rebellion, if they would but depart in peace and dismiss their army. Glencairn fiercely retorted, that they had not come to receive, but to give pardon,—and Morton replied, that he and his allies had not taken up arms against her Majesty, but against Bothwell, the murderer of their King; they were well inclined, he said, to serve her Majesty, provided only she would renounce her husband.

Bothwell, hearing this, rode forward in front of his army, and offered by his herald to fight in single combat with any one who should maintain that he was the murderer. The Laird of Grange first, and then James Murray, brother of the Laird of Tullibardine, proposed themselves, but he rejected both as of inferior rank to himself. Then Tullibardine challenged him, "as being his better in estate, and in antiquity of house many degrees above him." Bothwell, however, refused to encounter him, on the ground that he was not a peer. "Then," says Godscroft, "he challenged Morton by name. He accepted the challenge, and appointed the weapons to be two-handed swords, and to fight on foot. But Lord Lindsay, stepping forth, besought Morton and the rest, for all the service that ever his predecessors or himself had done or could do unto their country, that they would do him that honour as to suffer him to undertake that combat,

* *Spotswood*, p. 204.

which, he said, did also duly belong to him in regard of his nearness in blood to the defunct King." His request was granted, and Morton presented him with a famous two handed sword, which had belonged to his ancestor Bell-the-Cat, Earl of Angus, in the reign of James III., and which, in spite of its cumbrous size, Lindsay wore ever afterwards. He then proceeded to arm himself, and, kneeling down before the ranks, audibly implored God to strengthen his arm to punish the guilty and protect the innocent. Bothwell too seemed eager to fight, but at this critical juncture Mary interfered, and resolutely forbad the encounter."*

Bothwell and the Queen were now left almost alone and defenceless, their troops having all gone over to the Lords, and the Queen demanded a parley. The result was, that she agreed to surrender herself into their hands and part with Bothwell, on their promise to return to their allegiance. They made this promise; Bothwell took leave of the Queen, and rode away unmolested, and Mary surrendered to Grange, who led her by the bridle down the hill; and the confederates received her on their knees. But the denial of her first request, that she might communicate with the Hamiltons, who had advanced the night before to Linlithgow, betrayed the fact that she was a prisoner. Her prayers and reproaches were alike unheeded. "Her spirit, however, instead of being subdued, was rather roused by their baseness. She called for Lindsay, one of the fiercest of the confederate barons, and bade him give her his hand. He obeyed. "By the hand," said she, "which is now in yours, I 'll have your head for this!"—"Unfortunate princess!" exclaims the historian, "when she spoke this, little did she know how soon that unrelenting hand, which had been already stained with Rizzio's blood"—(but which, I would here interpose, was almost the only one there unpolluted with that of her husband)—"would fall still heavier yet upon herself!" †

Mary was conducted to Edinburgh as a captive, and the following day sent to the Castle of Lochleven, and confined there under charge of Lindsay and Ruthven.‡

* *Tytler*, tom. vii. p. 132; *Goodcroft*, p. 297; Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 188; *Calderwood*, tom. ii. p. 364.

† *Tytler*, tom. vii. p. 137.

‡ *Spotswood*, p. 207.—"The Queen of Scotland," writes Sir Nicholas Throck-

Huntley, Argyle, Crawford, and her other friends convened in the mean while at Dunbarton, with the view of adopting measures for her rescue, on the 29th June, 1567.*

The plans of the confederates were soon determined upon,—to depose the Queen, bestow the Crown on her infant son, and appoint the Earl of Moray regent of Scotland during his nephew's minority.

To effect these objects, Lindsay, "who had left Lochleven to attend the General Assembly, was despatched thither in company with Sir Robert Melville. From Lindsay," observes Mr. Tytler, "Mary had everything to dread; her passionate menace to him on the day she was taken prisoner at Carberry had not been forgotten, and he was now selected as a man whom she would hardly dare to resist." He carried with him the necessary instruments for signature. "Before he was admitted, Melville had a private interview with the Queen, and assured her that her refusal to sign the papers would endanger her life. Nor was this going too far. It is certain that, had she proved obstinate, the Lords were determined to bring her to a public trial; that they spoke with the utmost confidence of her conviction for the King's murder, and affirmed that they possessed proof of her guilt in her own handwriting. These threats and assertions were in all probability communicated to his royal mistress by Melville, and he insinuated that she ought to be the less scrupulous, as any deed signed in captivity and under fear of her life was invalid. He

morton to Elizabeth, on the 14th July, "remaineth in good health at the Castle of Lochleven, guarded by the Lord Lindsay and Lochleven, the owner of the house, for the Lord Ruthven is employed in another commission, because he began to show favour to the Queen and to give her intelligence. She is waited on with five or six ladies, four or five gentlewomen, and two chamberers, whereof one is a Frenchwoman. The Earl of Buchan, the Earl of Moray's brother, hath also liberty to come to her at his pleasure. The Lords aforesaid, which have her in guard, do keep her very straitly, and, as far as I can perceive, their rigour proceedeth by the order from these men, because the Queen will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to prosecute the murder, nor will not consent by any persuasion to abandon the Lord Bothwell for her husband, but avoweth constantly that she will live and die with him, and saith, if it were put to her choice to relinquish her crown and kingdom or the Lord Bothwell, she would leave her kingdom and dignity to live as a simple damosel with him, and that she will never consent that he shall fare worse or have more harm than herself." *Selections from unpublished MSS. in the College of Arms, &c., Maitl. Club*, p. 205.

* *Tytler*, tom. vii. p. 143.

brought a message to the same purpose from Athol and Lethington, and a letter from Throckmorton.

"It was a trying moment for Mary, and for a short time she resisted every entreaty, declaring passionately that she would sooner renounce her life than her Crown; but when Lindsay was admitted, his stern behaviour at once terrified her into compliance. He laid the instruments before her, and with eyes filled with tears, and a trembling hand, she took the pen and signed the papers without even reading their contents.* It was necessary, however, that they should pass the privy seal, and here a new outrage was committed. The keeper, Thomas Sinclair, remonstrated, and declared that, the Queen being in ward, her resignation was ineffectual; Lindsay attacked his house, tore the seal from his hands, and compelled him by threats and violence to affix it to the resignation."†

* *Spotswood*, p. 211.

† *Tytler*, 8vo. vii. pp. 165 sqq.—The last-mentioned fact, of the mode in which the privy seal was attached to the deeds of resignation was first made known by Mr. Riddell, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, October, 1817. It took place at three in the afternoon of the 25th July, the same morning that he had returned from Lochleven. Lindsay assuredly was not of those who allow the grass to grow under their horses' heels, or who strain at gnats after swallowing camels. The devil, however, it is said, may be painted too black, and I may here protest against the tradition (of which I believe no trace is to be found in print previous to its appearance in Sir Walter Scott's writings) of Lord Lindsay's alleged personal ill usage of Queen Mary on this visit to Lochleven Castle. In a note affixed to the passage in the revised edition of the 'Abbot,' Sir Walter says that the "details" of this scene are "imaginary, though the outline of the events is historical." I wish that a similar expression of qualification had been attached to the corresponding statement in the 'Tales of a Grandfather'—or rather that it had never been written.[a] It may be sufficient to state that in the most violent party publications of the time, in which Lord Lindsay figures as an almost incarnate demon,[b] not the slightest allusion to the particular act of brutality alluded to is to be found. The simple account of Sir James Melville, Mary's friend, and brother of the Sir Robert who was present at the interview, sufficiently vindicates him:—"After that he (Sir Robert Melville) had refused platly (flatly) to meddle in that matter, they were minditt to send the Lord Lindsay, first to use fair persuasions, and, in case he came na speed, to enter in harder terms. The Earls of Athol, Marr, and Secretary Lethington, and the Laird of Grange, who lovit her, advised my brother to tell her the verity, how that

[a] "He behaved," says Sir Walter, "with such peremptory brutality as had perhaps been expected, and was so unmanly as to pinch with his iron glove the arm of the poor Queen, to compel her to subscribe the deeds."

[b] See, for instance, "L'Innocence de la très illustre, très chaste, et debonnaire Princesse, Madame Marie Estuarde d'Escosse."—*Jebb's collection of writers on the life of Mary Queen of Scots*, tom. i. p. 491.

The Coronation of the infant James was celebrated immediately afterwards at Stirling; the deeds of resignation were read, "and Lindsay and Ruthven on their oath testified that they were voluntary. The revolution was complete," and "a more extraordinary one," remarks the historian, "was perhaps never completed without bloodshed, and apparently with such disproportionate means. A small section of the nobles and the gentry, unsupported by foreign aid, with a handful of soldiers, at no time exceeding four hundred men, opposed by the highest of the aristocracy, and threatened with the hostility of England and France, were seen to rise with appalling suddenness and strength. They dispel their enemies, they imprison their sovereign, they hesitate whether she shall not be openly arraigned and executed, they compel her to resign her regal authority, and they now finally place the Crown on the head of her son, an infant of a year old, and possess themselves of the whole power of the government." *

Mary's friends were however eagerly watching for an opportunity to serve her, and on the 2nd of May, 1568, that moment arrived,—she escaped from Lochleven. Crawford, and eight other Earls, nine Bishops, eighteen Lords, and barons numberless, rallied round her at Hamilton, and signed a bond of association for her defence;† and six thousand men appeared by her side within six days after her escape. Mary, personally, wished for an accommodation with Moray, and to avoid bloodshed, but the Hamiltons and their friends were anxious to crush Moray while, as at the moment, they were the stronger party,—and Moray, on his side, desired to crush the Queen and her present adherents before Huntley, Ogilvie, Crawford, and the other Northern chiefs could bring up their forces. Under these feelings, the battle of Langsyde was welcome to both parties, though fortunate only to

anything that she does in prison cannot prejudge her, being at liberty. He said he wald not persuade her nor speak na thing but as her true and faithful servant,—always, he said, he should tell her the opinion of sa many as were her friends. But she refused utterly til follow their advice therintil,—but when she heard that the Lord Lindsay was at the New House, and was upon a toasting humour, she yieldit to the necessity of the time, and shew my brother that she wald not strive with them, seeing it could do her na harm when she was at liberty. Sa, at my Lord Lindsay's coming, she subscribed the signature of renunciation and demission of the government to the Prince."—*Memoirs*, p. 189.

* *Tytler*, tom. vii. p. 169.

† *Keith*, tom. ii. p. 807.

Moray. A charge by Lindsay, at the critical moment, decided the fate of the day* and of the unfortunate Mary, who fled from the field to Dundrennan, and from thence to England—to throw herself on the protection of Elizabeth. Her faithful followers wept and remonstrated, but in vain—the decisive step was taken, and from that fatal hour Mary was a prisoner.

SECTION IV.

While a Lowther was Mary's guardian, she was treated with the greatest respect and lodged in the Castle of Carlisle, a residence, however, too near the Scottish Border to satisfy Elizabeth, —she was accordingly removed to Bolton Castle in Yorkshire, a measure that gave instant alarm to her friends in Scotland. Crawford, Huntley, and Ogilvie set out immediately for their several countries to raise their followers, after appointing Glasgow their place of rendezvous. They speedily returned with six thousand men,† and found a large force at the trysting-place, which had been raised by Argyle, Eglinton, Cassillis, and other Southern chiefs, during their absence. These noblemen had already written to the King of Spain and the Duke of Alva for assistance, and to the Queen of England "right sharply,"—subscribing the letters with Crawford's name, though not yet arrived, as assured of his concurrence. Their intention was to meet in Drumchoirling Moor, and march to Edinburgh against the Regent, whom they hoped to crush before the meeting of Parliament, at which they were to be forfeited.‡ Moray, on his side, was not inactive, but,

* On the Macfarlanes being routed, according to Calderwood, "Lord Lindsay, who stood nearest them in the Regent's battle, said, 'Let them go: I shall fill their places better,'—so he stepped forward with a company of fresh men, and charged the enemy with long weapons, so that they, having spent their spears before, and almost overthrown by the avant-guard and harquebusiers, were driven back and turned to flight. The Regent's battle, perceiving the enemy to flee without order, 'brake array and followed.'" *Hist.*, tom. ii. p. 415.—Holinshed tells us that Lord Lindsay and the Lairds of Drumlanrig and Grange "bare themselves right valiantly that day, failing not in any point that belonged to the duty of hardy captains." Holinshed, *Chron. of Scotland*, p. 569.

† Blackwood, *Martyre de Marie, Reyne d'Escosse, &c.*, ap. Jebb, tom. ii. p. 235.

‡ The letter to Elizabeth—written with a dignity and boldness worthy of the

finding his force inadequate to cope with them, he demanded aid of Elizabeth. This she granted in the shape of a letter to Mary, urging her to spare her subjects the horrors of a civil war by ordering her friends to lay down their arms, and engaging, on her doing so, to induce Moray and his allies to abandon their intention of forfeiting them.* Mary complied, and her friends were obliged to "skaill (dismiss) their folks and depart to their own bounds."*

The Queen's trial ensued, before the Commissioners of Elizabeth. Moray, Lethington, Lindsay,† and others, attended,—but so little proof had Moray to adduce of the crimes he aimed at substantiating, that Elizabeth, after five months' investigation, declared that, though nothing had transpired to make her think less highly of Moray's honour, still he had not established the truth of any one imputation he had attempted to fix on his sister's fame.

Nineteen years of prison and privation now awaited the unhappy Mary, and even then it was only by the blow of the executioner that she recovered her freedom.

Towards the close of the year 1568, Lord Herries, it appears, retorted the accusation of Darnley's murder on the Regent's party. Lord Lindsay of the Byres took the matter up in the name of his friends, and challenged Herries in the following terms:—

"Lord Herries,

"I am informit that ye haif spoken and affirmit that my Lord Regent's Grace and his company here present were guilty of the abominable murther of the King our Sovereign Lord's father. Gif ye haif sa spoken, ye haif said untruly, and therein lied in your throat; whilk I will maintain, God willing, against

Lion Queen to whom it was addressed—and one from Argyle to Crawford, illustrating the particular exigency, and the mode of resistance on similar occasions of threatened forfeiture, will be found in the Appendix, Nos. XXVI. and XXVII. The former is printed in Anderson's *Collections for the Hist. of Mary Queen of Scots*, tom. iv. part i. p. 129; the latter in *Calderwood*, tom. iii. p. 419.

* Second Letter from Huntley, Crawford, and their friends, to Queen Elizabeth, 24 Aug. 1568, Anderson's *Collections*, tom. iv. part i. p. 125; *Blackwood*, as quoted in the penultimate note; *Diurnal*, p. 137.

† *Diurnal*, p. 139.

you, as becomes me, of honour and duty. Hereupon I desire your answer.

"Subscrivit with my hand, at Kingston, the 22nd of December, 1568.

"PATRIK L. LYNDSAY."

Lord Herries replied by denying that he had so spoken of him (Lord Lindsay) in particular,—his words having been, that some of that company present with the Earl of Moray were guilty of that treason; "but let any," he added, "of the principals that was there, subscrive the like writing ye have sent to me, and I shall point him forth, and fight with any of the traitors therein,—for meetest it is that traitors shall pay for their awin treason:"*—a singular refusal, implying a distinction favourable, as it appears to me, to Lord Lindsay, as innocent among the guilty, so far as the assassination of the unhappy Darnley is concerned.

Moray was at last sent to his long account by the bullet of Bothwellhaugh, on the 23rd of January, 1569-70, and Lennox was chosen Regent in his room. Constant hostilities were now carried on between the King's and the Queen's Lords, as the rival parties were henceforth called. Every day brought its adventure, of loss or gain, to the one side or the other. In one conflict near the Abbey of Holyrood, Morton and Lindsay slew the Commendator of Kilwinning and sixty more, and took Lord Home and eighty gentlemen of the Queen's party prisoners.† A month or two afterwards, sixty of Lord Lindsay's cows were driven away from the Byres,‡ but the following day the disgrace was wiped out by a victory over Spens of Wormestone, Lord Seyton, and others in the High Street of Edinburgh,—Seyton was taken and carried away by Lord Lindsay, and, "on the other

* The cartels were printed from the originals, then preserved in the library of the Scottish College at Paris, by Keith, in his History, p. xii. edit. folio.

† On the 16th June, 1571. *Diurnal*, p. 224.

‡ *Diurnal*, p. 241.—"Upon this same day the horsemen of Edinburgh, to the number of two hundreth horsemen or thereby, and about a hundreth fyftteen hagbuttiers, went to the Lord Lindsay's place, the Byres, and took all his cattle, about fiftie quey (kye) and oxen, with some pair men's horse, and other beasts, which were brought in to the town of Edinburgh,—at the which time, or else within four or five days after, they went again, purposing to demolish the said place; but it being provided with some hagbutiers, as they approached, some left their carcasses behind, and others were taken, wherevby that enterprise came not to pass." Bannatyne's *Memorials*, p. 179, edit. Bann.

hand, Sir James Haliburton, Colonel of the foot in Leith, was taken by the men of Edinburgh, they being four hundred horsemen, beside footmen,—my Lord Lindsay," (says the annalist,) "not being half so many, got the victory."* Lindsay was at this time Governor of Leith, during the absence of the Regent at the Parliament at Stirling.†—Crawford, on the other hand, was active in the Queen's cause, and Morton attempted to seize him by a sudden march on Brechin with seven thousand men,—he escaped, however, leaving a hundred and fifty men to hold out the house of the Earl of Marr and the steeple of the Cathedral, promising to relieve them within three days. Morton instantly commenced the siege; "the steeple," says a contemporary, "soon yielded, and had good quarter granted, but the house held out longer and killed many, yet was forced to render at last upon mercy,"—that is, at discretion. "The Regent caused hang thirty who had formerly served for the King, and dismissed the rest freely."‡—It is impossible to suppress a smile at the quaint language of these old chroniclers, but who shall estimate the amount of wretchedness these intestine feuds occasioned?§

Days, however, passed on, and the Queen's party, without hope within or from without, grew weaker and weaker,—their strength was broken, and their leaders found it necessary to enter into terms of accommodation. Crawford submitted in October, 1570,‖ Huntley and the Hamiltons (the latter of whom had given in their adhesion long before, and broken it) soon afterwards,—and at the close of 1571 none remained in arms save Kirkaldy of

* *Bannatyne*, penult. Aug. 1571, p. 180.

† *Bannatyne*, p. 178; Lord Herries' *Memoirs*, p. 139.

‡ Lord Herries' *Memoirs*, p. 130; *Diurnal*, p. 185; *Hist. of King James the Sext*, p. 59; *Spottiswood*, p. 242.

§ A bitter affliction befell Catherine Countess of Crawford, widow of David of Edzell, the ninth Earl, at this time, in the tragical fate of her sister, the Lady of Towie, commemorated in the ballad of 'Adam o' Gordon,' still popular in Scotland. See, for the details, Bannatyne's *Journal*, p. 212.

‖ "Oct. 2, 1570. The Earl of Crawford, who before had sa lang remanit at the Queen's faction . . come to Edinburgh to appoint with my Lord Regent's Grace and Lords of Secret Council touching all maters, because his corns, guids, and gear were under their feet, and might have been destroyit at their pleasure." *Hist. King James the Sext*, p. 66; *Diurnal*, p. 190.—At the end of March preceding, Huntley, Crawford, and their friends had written another letter of expostulation to Elizabeth in behalf of Mary; it is printed in *Calderwood*, tom. ii. p. 547, Wodrow edit.

Grange and Maitland of Lethington, who, once her bitterest enemies, were the last avowed adherents of Queen Mary. They had fortified themselves in the Castle of Edinburgh, from which Kirkaldy kept up a constant fire on the town; and though the Earl of Morton, now Regent, and Lord Lindsay, who had been appointed for that purpose Provost of Edinburgh, invested it with batteries of cannon and artillery, for a long time they could make no impression.

At last, some negotiations for a settlement of these commotions being entered into by the courts of France and England, an abstinence of hostilities was agreed upon for two months between the King's party and those in the Castle. On its expiry, the latter wished to renew the abstinence, which the Regent refused, unless the Castle should be rendered to him, which was "all-utterly refused by the Captain. Whereupon," says a contemporary, "it followit, that my Lord Lindsay was movit to command that a fortress and bulwark should be erectit before the face of the tolbooth that lukit to the Castle, in the straight passage forueut (in front of) the goldsmiths' shops, to be as a defiance aganis all shots of the Castle that way, as could annoy the place of justice. And sic-like another was erectit in the straight passage forueut the North door of the capital kirk, for safety of them that should enter to the kirk for devotion, or to the tolbooth for obtaining of right or for the defence of wrang. The Captain perceiving these defiances laid against him, (the abstinence being at this time outrun, and a garrison of war laid at the West Port of Edinburgh to stop all kinds of vivers [victuals] to come to the house, as also to stop their ishe [exit] and entry,) he on the other part declared his defiance on the morn by shooting of some cannons down in the town directly aganes a new market-place of fish, whereby a man was slain, divers hurt, and the fishes blawn sa heich in the air, that they were seen to fall upon the tops of heich houses, and some of them to fall on the streets in great abundance."*

John Knox, the fearless apostle of the Scottish Reformation, died about this time in Edinburgh, after a long and lingering illness. On the 17th of November he sent for his colleague and successor Mr. James Lawson, Mr. David Lindsay, mentioned by anticipation in a former page as the celebrated minister

* *Hist. King James the Sext*, p. 125.

of Leith,* and the elders and deacons of Edinburgh, all of whom he addressed in a farewell speech, exhorting them to persevere in the true faith, and do the work of the Lord joyfully and resolutely. After joining in prayer and bidding them farewell, they were departing, when Knox called Lindsay and Lawson back, and desired to speak with them in private. "Weill, brother," said he, addressing Lindsay, "I have desired all this day to have had you, that I may send you yet to yon man in the Castle," (meaning Grange,) "whom ye know I have loved so dearly. Go, I pray you, and tell him that I have sent you to him yet once, to warn him and bid him in the name of God leave that evil cause and give over that Castle. If not, he shall be brought down over the walls of it with shame, and hang against the sun. So God hath assured me."—"Mr. David," continues Calderwood, "thought the message hard, yet went to the Castle, and meeteth first with Sir Robert Melville walking on the wall, and told him what was his errand, who, as he thought, was much moved with the matter. Thereafter he communed with the Captain (Kirkaldy), whom he thought also somewhat moved. But he went from him in to Secretar Lethington, with whom when he had conferred a little, he came out to Mr. David again, and said, 'Go, tell Mr. Knox he is but a dryting prophet.' Mr. David returned to Mr. Knox, and reported how he had discharged his commission, but that it was not weill accepted of the Captain, after he had conferred with the Secretar. 'Weill!' said Mr. Knox, 'I have been earnest with my God anent thir two men. For the one, I am sorry that so shall befall him, yet God assureth me that there is mercy for his soul. For the other, I have no warrant that it shall be weill with him.' Mr. David thought the speech hard, yet laid it up in his mind till Mr. Knox was at rest with God, and found the truth of that which he had spoken within few days efter."†

After this day Knox grew weaker every hour. On the 20th Lord Lindsay visited him, with some other gentlemen. He exhorted them, says his biographer, "to continue in the truth which they had heard, for there was no other word of salvation; and besought them"—possibly with reference to the old friendship between Lindsay and Grange, and the yearning of Lindsay's rough heart towards his ancient friend—"to have nothing to do with those in

* *Vide supra*, p. 132. † *Calderwood*, sum. iii. p. 254.

the Castle."* Four days afterwards he expired, and his epitaph was pronounced over his grave by Morton, in the emphatic words, "Here thou liest, that wert never afraid of the face of man in delivering thy message from God!"

Kirkaldy maintained the Castle, against Lord Lindsay's and Morton's efforts, for some months after Knox's death, but was at last forced to surrender, "his walls being breached and shattered, his provisions expended, the well choked with ruins and inaccessible, and the artillery silenced."† He surrendered on the 29th of May to the English ambassador, Sir William Drury, on a solemn pledge and assurance that the lives of himself and his adherents should be spared through the intercession of Elizabeth, —an intercession which, through a recent special treaty and her unbounded influence over Morton, could not have been disregarded. But when the answer to Drury's despatches arrived from England, it contained an order that the prisoners should all be given up to Morton, to be dealt with at his pleasure—a mandate tantamount to signing the warrant for their execution. Drury complained bitterly of the dishonour thus cast upon him, but dared not disobey,—he gave up Kirkaldy and his followers to Morton, and departed for England. Popular belief branded him with having connived with Morton in this breach of faith, but no one stood up for the unfortunate Kirkaldy, or appeared his friend at this awful moment, save Lindsay, so late his enemy; and it was publicly said at the time, "Morton and Drury are very cunning, but a blind man sees their tricks," in allusion to Lindsay's short-sightedness and his naturally unsuspicious and hasty temper. He used his utmost efforts with Morton to save his ancient comrade, but unavailingly,—the Regent was inexorable,‡ and the gallant Kirkaldy was condemned to death as a traitor, and hanged at Edinburgh on the 3rd of August, 1572.

We owe the details of the last melancholy scene to Calderwood. "Mr. David Lindsay," he says, "came to visit Grange before his execution. He employed him to go to the Earl of Morton, and to offer him his whole heritage, the bond of manrent of all his

* Bannatyne's *Journal*, p. 422; MacCrie's *Life of Knox*, note ii. p. 226.

† *Sir Walter Scott.*

‡ Crawford of Drumsoy's *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 270; George Crawford's *Hist. of the Lindsays*, MS.

friends, and to pass off the country in exile during his will. Mr. David doeth as he is directed. The Regent, after he had consulted with the Commendator of Dunfermline and the Clerk of Register, answered, the people could not be satisfied, nor the cause cleared nor crowned, but by the exemplar punishment of that man. Mr. David returned with this answer. 'O then,' saith he, 'Mr. David, for our old friendship and for Christ's sake, leave me not!' When he saw the scaffold prepared at the Cross, the day fair, and the sun shining clear, his countenance was changed. Mr. David asked what he was doing. 'Faith, Mr. David,' saith he, 'I perceive weill now that Mr. Knox was the true servant of God, and his threatenings to be accomplished.' He desired Mr. David to repeat Mr. Knox his words, which he did, adding that Mr. Knox had told him that he was earnest with God for him, was sorry for that which should befall his body, for the love he bare to him, but was assured there was mercy for his soul. He desired him yet again to repeat these words, which he did, whereby he was much comforted and encouraged, and desired Mr. David to accompany him to the scaffold. He said to him, 'I hope in God, that, after men shall think I am past and gone, I shall give you a token of the assurance of that mercy to my soul, according to the speech of that man of God.' So, about four hours, the sun being West, about the North-West corner of the steeple, he was thrust off the ladder. As he was hanging, his face was set towards the East, but within a pretty space turned about to the West, against the sun, and so remained; at which time Mr. David marked him, when all supposed he was dead, to lift up his hands, which were bound before him, and to lay them down again softly,—which moved him with exclamation to glorify God before all the people."*

Thus perished the gallant Kirkaldy of Grange, the last hope of Mary in Scotland. Lethington, who had been sent prisoner to Tantallon—the Machiavelli and Mephistopheles of his time—died, according to a contemporary historian, "after the old Roman fashion," by taking poison. With the death of these two men the civil wars ceased, and from this time the Regent Morton ruled supreme in the state for several years.

* *Calderwood*, tom. iii. p. 284.

CHAPTER XII.

"Oh, haud your tongue, my mother dear!
And ye'll let a' your folly be,—
It was ae word my merry mou' spake
That sinderit my guid lord and me."

"But haud your tongue, my sister dear!
And ye'll let a' your mourning be,—
I'll wed yon to as fine a knight,
That is nine times as rich as he."

"Oh, haud your tongue, my brother dear!
And ye'll let a' your folly be,—
I'd rather ae kiss o' Crawford's mouth
Than a' his gowd and white monie!"

BALLAD OF EARL CRAWFORD.

SECTION I.

It was not, however, in the nature of the Scottish nobles to acquiesce long under any ruler; and the unpopularity of Morton, through his avarice and extortion, increased daily. The feuds too, which his administration had at first suppressed, broke out again; and that especially between the Houses of Crawford and Glamis was reawakened, through an unfortunate accident, after nearly a century of slumber.

David, the tenth Earl of Crawford, the son of the Wicked Master, had lately died,* leaving four sons; David, his successor, —Sir Henry of Kinfauns, afterwards thirteenth Earl of Crawford, and whose family carried on the succession,—Sir John Lindsay of Balinscho and Woodwray,—and Alexander, the first Lord Spynie; besides a daughter, Lady Helen, spouse of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell. David, the eldest son, "ane princely man,"† but a sad spendthrift, became, on his father's decease, eleventh Earl of Crawford.

* Before 1 Nov. 1574, *Crawford Case*, p. 77.—He died, says the Genealogy of 1623, "at Finhaven," (Sir James Balfour says, at Cairnie,) "and was buried at Dundee."

† *MS. Genealogy*, 1623.

"Much about this time," says a quaint old writer, "David Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, and John Lyon, Lord Glamis, Chancellor—men whose birth made them move in a high sphere—were dissonants, not consonants. Glamis," he continues, "for his pacifierous ways, merciful judicature in the civil law, prudency and moderation, was held in great repute,"—Crawford, on the other hand, was "nervous by his strong affinities of noble descent and great achievements, his elegancy of behaviour, magnificence, and riches; but as his life was inquinated with luxury, so Glamis his days were adorned with many and noble honours, being a pattern of gravity and dignity to others."*—On the evening of the 17th of March, 1577-8, Crawford and Glamis chanced to meet each other, at the head of their respective followings, in a narrow street, called the School-house Wynd,† and in front of a large fortified house named "the Lady Mary's Lodging,"‡ in Stirling, as Crawford was passing to the Castle, and the Chancellor returning to his lodging after making his report to the King. The two nobles, being of the same party in politics, were well aware of the impolicy of reviving their feuds in such a place and at such a time. Each therefore ceremoniously, though without salutation, made way for the other, and ordered his followers to do the same,—a command which all obeyed "save two that were last, who, having jostled one another, drew their swords and flew to it." A regular "hubbub" ensued, which ended in Glamis receiving a mortal wound in the head by a pistol-bullet, but from whose hand is uncertain.

The accounts of the fray differ in details. One writer says, "that, in the scattering of the parties be the fray of the shots of the pistols, the Chancellor was espyit out of a heich window be some evjl-willer, and was there, in sight of the haill people, so deidly hurt that immediately he fell to the ground."§—Many, says Godscroft, "thought it was Crawford himself" who shot the fatal bullet, "because he was very skilful in shooting with a piece,"‖—this may be rejected as merely presumptive evidence; and indeed con-

* Johnstone's *Hist. of Scotland*, during the minority of James VI., translated by T. Middleton, printed in *Scotia Rediviva*, p. 413.

† *Spotswood*, p. 283.

‡ *Moyse's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 4.

§ *Hist. of King James the Sext*, p. 149.

‖ *Hist. of the House of Douglas*, p. 341.

temporary testimony fairly exonerates him even from the intention of injury. "It was certainly known," says Archbishop Spotswood "that the noblemen did purpose no harm to others (each other), for Crawford did call to his followers to give way to the Chancellor, as he, on the other side, called to give way to the Earl of Crawford; yet by this unhappy accident were the old dissensions, that had long slept,* revived, and a fresh enmity raised, which turned to the great hurt of both."†

Altogether, this skirmish, in its scene and circumstances—the narrow antique wynd, the torches, the pistol-flashes, the struggling groups of combatants, Crawford endeavouring to appease the fray, Glamis staggering backwards, while the "evil-willer's" pistol and face of triumph are still protruding from the "heich window"—forms a subject worthy of the pencil of Gherardo della Notte or Salvator Rosa.

The result of this "unhappy accident" is told as follows by the euphuist chronicler already cited, evidently no friend to the Lindsays:—"The atrocity of Glamis' death excited the minds of most well-minded men, but, above the rest, Thomas Lyon‡ was a most eager young gallant to revenge his uncle's death, who strove to make fire and sword avenge his and his family's injuries, making many devastations into the Lindsays' country; nor less bitter were the endeavours by the adverse party. These depopulations, arriving at court, caused the King, by the authority of his council, to dismiss delegates which might declare a cessation from further acts of hostility, so long as (until) the matter might be decided by law. In conclusion, Crawford, being apprehended, was cast into prison for the death of Glamis, yet, by the earnest and ardent desires of the nobility, not long after was safely dismissed. As he returned through Angus, the inhabitants congratulated his freedom; this was like a new fuel to inflame Glamis' tutor into so vehement anger as that Crawford all his life was glad to stand in a soldier's posture."§—But here again authorities differ; Godscroft

* The last notice that I have observed of the feud is in the indictment of the Wicked Master, 1530, for killing a servant of Lord Glamis.

† *Hist. Church of Scotland*, p. 285.

‡ Uncle of the Chancellor, and tutor or guardian to his nephew, the Chancellor's infant son. He is usually styled Master of Glamis, as presumptive heir to that barony.

§ Johnstone, *ut supra*.

tells us that "he was imprisoned,* but released soon afterwards without trial or inquiry,"—while Marjoribanks, on the other hand, says he was "found innocent at that time,"† with the further information, that not long afterwards "he departit out of the country, accompanied with the Earl of Huntley, to France,"‡ from whence he subsequently proceeded to Italy.§—And it appears that an enormous fine was subsequently imposed on the Master of Glamis (the "tutor" above mentioned), "for the killing of the Earl of Crawford's man,"‖ and probably for other similar delinquencies, in prosecution of his feud.

* So too Lord Herries,—"in the Castle of Striviling (Stirling). Four or five of his servants," he adds, "were hurt,—the remnant escapit." *Memoirs*, p. 4.

† This is nearest the truth.—David Lindsay of Edzell and Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres, his sureties, were fined for non-production of Earl David, to underlie the law, 5 March, 1579. *Pitcairn's Crim. Trials*, tom. i. part ii. p. 85.—The 3rd of November was appointed for his subsequent appearance, when I presume he was acquitted. There was no doubt of his innocence,—but in those days the Scottish barons were wont to appear at trials (whether as accusers or accused) with such a host of friends as to overawe the judges; and Crawford was obliged to do the like in self-defence, as appears from a curious circular, addressed to his principal friends on this occasion, and printed (from the original draft in the handwriting of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, *Haigh Muniment-room*) in the Appendix, No. XXVIII.

‡ *Annals of Scotland*, 1514-1591, *by George Marjoribanks*, p. 28.

§ Letter from Lord Crawford to Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, in the Haigh Muniment-room, dated Paris, 1580, stating his intention of proceeding to Italy, and begging to be informed "when time may serve to return to Scotland."—He had returned by the penult. October, 1581, when he sat in the Parliament then held in Edinburgh.

‖ See the particulars of a curious conversation between King James and the Master of Glamis in May, 1583, when the King disclosed his intention of endeavouring to escape from the thraldom in which he was kept by the leaders of the Raid of Ruthven,—as reported by the English envoy Fowler to Walsingham. "I intend," said James, "to go in progress, and first to Falkland, and thereafter to the Glamis. What think you, Master—shall I be welcome?" The other answered, that his welcome should be better than his entertainment,—"'because,' saith he, 'I am less able now than I was these five years before,'—meaning of his loss and fine of xx thousand pounds,* which he paid by the Duke of Lennox's means for the killing of the Earl of Crawford's man." *Tytler*, tom. viii. p. 437.—Even subsequently to this, he was persecuted by James to "take up" and agree with Crawford, and "blanks" were drawn up for reconciliation, but he naturally fought shy of it, and even obtained a passport to leave the country. See letters of 4th July and 8 Aug. 1583, in the *Bowes Correspondence, Surtees Soc.*, pp. 530, 537.—Crawford is described as follows in a description of the 'State, Faction,' &c., of the several noblemen in Scot-

* If these £20,000 were Scots pounds, the fine would be equivalent to about £2000 English of the time. But as Englishmen writing to an Englishman would hardly speak of pounds Scottish without qualifying them as such, I suspect therefore but *apparent* error in the transcription of the letter quoted by Mr. Tytler.

Earl David's first wife was Lilias, daughter of David second Lord Drummond. "This," says the noble historian of the Drummonds, "was considered so noble a match, that there was a tocher given with her far beyond what was customary in those times, to wit, ten thousand marks."* That it was not, however, a happy marriage may be conjectured from the old North-country ballad of 'Earl Crawford,' which relates that a merry jest of Lady Crawford as to the paternity of her child was taken by Crawford in earnest,—that he sent her home to her family in disgrace,—that she rode back to her husband's castle to entreat his forgiveness and "comfort,"—that he refused to listen to her, and then repented, and rode over to Stobhall, the castle of the Drummonds, to seek forgiveness himself,—that she, however, proved obdurate in her turn, and that both died of grief that same night and were buried together in one tomb,—a lesson to all men that "pride may not bring them low down:"—a story probably correct in all save its concluding catastrophe, and which is partially confirmed by the testimony of an old family genealogist, hitherto unknown, that he had one son by the fair "Lillie," who died young.† He afterwards married Lady Griselda Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Athol.

Lord Lindsay of the Byres, smarting under the loss of his ancient friend Kirkaldy, had in the mean while become estranged from Morton, and in March, 1577-8, was one of the leaders of the party which effected his fall, and emancipated, as they termed it, the young King from thraldom.‡ During these long minorities the possession of the King's person and the chief power in the state were synonymous terms, and a revolution in the cabinet was

land, in this same year, 1583:—"Crawford, ... His living and estate much ruined. Himself in affection French, in religion unsettled, but his power tied short by the feud he hath with the Master of Glamis and his friends." *Bannatyne Miscellany*, tom. i. p. 58.

* Lord Strathallan's *Genealogy of the House of Drummond*, p. 174.

† *Genealogy of* 1623, *MS.*—The ballad, as printed in Buchan's *Ancient Ballads of the North of Scotland*, tom. i. p. 61, will be found in the Appendix, No. XXIX. There is the pathos of nature in its singularly inartificial simplicity,—indeed the ballads of the North of Scotland are remarkably deficient in the poetical graces of the Border.

‡ The Castle of Edinburgh was surrendered by Morton's lieutenant, after a fruitless attempt at resistance, to Lindsay and Ruthven on the 1st of April, 1578. *Godscroft*, p. 341.—Lindsay was on this revolution appointed one of the Council of Twelve, to whom the administration was vested. *Ibid.*, p. 342.

generally notified to the sovereign by a change of masters. Morton ere long regained his power by a revolution of this description, declared the King of age, and issued summonses in his name, commanding the attendance of the malcontent nobles at a convention to be held at Stirling.* Obedience would have been to certain death or captivity, Stirling being completely in Morton's power; the dissentient barons therefore refused attendance, and sent Lindsay and Montrose to protest against the convention, as in no sense a free Parliament. "It was held, they said, within an armed fortress; and for this cause the noble peers, whose messengers they were, had refused to attend it,—'and we now come,' said Lindsay, with his usual brevity and bluntness, 'to protest against its proceedings.' Morton here interrupted him, and commanded him and his companion to take their places; to which Lindsay answered, that he would stand there till the King ordered him to his seat. James then repeated the command, and the old Lord sat down. After a sermon which was preached by Duncanson, the minister of the royal household, and an harangue by Morton, who, in the absence of Athol, the Chancellor, took upon him to fill his place, the Estates proceeded to chuse the Lords of the Articles;* upon which Lindsay again broke in upon the proceedings, calling all to witness that every act of such a Parliament was null, and the chusing of the Lords an empty farce. This second attack threw Morton into an ungovernable rage, in which he unsparingly abused his old associate. 'Think ye, Sir!' said he, 'that this is a court of churls or brawlers? Take your own place, and thank God that the King's youth keeps you safe from his resentment!'—'I have served the King in his minority,' said Lindsay, 'as faithfully as the proudest among ye, and I think to serve his Grace no less truly in his majority.' Upon which Morton was observed to whisper something in the King's ear, who, blushing and hesitating, delivered himself of a little speech, which, no doubt, had been prepared for him beforehand. 'Lest any man,' said he, 'should judge this not to be a free Parliament, I declare it free, and those who love me will think as I think.'

"This silenced Lindsay, and the proceedings went on," without further interruption, Lindsay remaining in the hall to watch

* The Committee of Parliament.

the course of events, while Montrose went out, and rode straight to Edinburgh, where the dissentient Lords immediately gathered their followers. They marched to Falkirk seven thousand strong, and were met by Morton at the head of his adherents, amounting to five thousand; both sides were well armed,—the trumpets, drums, and other "bellicose instruments" were merrily sounding—the skirmishing had begun, and the main armies were fast approaching each other, when Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, accompanied by James Lawson and David Lindsay, the two chief ministers of the Kirk, rode between them, and offered his services as a mediator. Long discussions ensued, which resulted in a compromise,—the rising of the dissentient Lords was declared to be good and loyal service, and Lindsay, Montrose, Argyle, and their friends, were reelected into the Privy Council.*

This coalition weakened Morton's power, and ultimately led to his downfall. Foremost among his enemies were the King himself, and his youthful favourites Esmè Stuart, lately created Duke of Lennox, and James Stuart, Earl of Arran. Lennox had been born in France and brought up a Catholic; on his arrival in Scotland, the King requested the Kirk to appoint one of their number to attend, and, if possible, convert him. Mr. David Lindsay, minister of Leith, was appointed for the purpose, "being held the fittest," says Spotswood, "as well for his skill in the French tongue as for his moderation otherwise," and the result was the Duke's open recantation in St. Giles's. Lennox, though a man of slight talent, and even weak and irresolute, had many good points; he was amiable, sincerely attached to the King, and less violent, selfish, and unprincipled than usual in those days. Arran, on the other hand, was the mere soldier of fortune, accomplished and courageous, but depraved and unscrupulous beyond ordinary men. Both were animated with the deadliest hatred against Morton. The time being ripe, Arran publicly impeached him of Darnley's murder; he was tried, though not in the fairest manner, condemned, and, by a strange vicissitude, is said to have been the first victim beheaded by an instrument named the Maiden, resembling the modern guillotine, which he had himself

* *Tytler*, vol. viii. p. 84; *Hist. King James the Sext*, p. 172; Moysie's *Memoirs*, p. 16.

introduced into Scotland. His execution took place on the 2nd of June, 1581.*

For about a twelvemonth afterwards everything seems to have gone on smoothly, but the daily increasing influence acquired over the King by Lennox, and the suspicion of Catholicism that hung over that nobleman, rendered the Protestant party fearful of a change in his views towards themselves and the Kirk. Lord Lindsay, moreover, originally a supporter, had become the personal enemy of Lennox and Arran. As in the case of Kirkaldy, his heart had relented towards Morton, his friend and associate for so many years, when his life was in danger. Unable to save him, he abandoned his seat at the Council, and retired to his own house "much discontented,"—turning a deaf ear to the sum-

* Calderwood, whose graphic pages have transmitted so many characteristic traits to posterity, has recorded a striking scene, which was deemed prophetical of Morton's downfall. "The King," he says, "entered in his progress through Fife and Angus the twentieth day of May, and returned to Stirling the fifteenth of August. This progress was devised, because the Lord Ruthven, Treasurer, alleged the treasury was exhausted, and the King in debt of forty thousand pounds to him. When the King was at St. Andrews in the month of July, in the time of his progress, the gentlemen of the country had a guise or fence (farce?) to play before the King. The play was to be acted in the New Abbey. While the people is gazing and longing for the play, Skipper (Captain) Lindsay, a phrenetic man, stepped in to the place which was keeped void till the players come, and poseth up and down in sight of the people with great gravity, his hands on his side, and looking loftily. He had a manly countenance, but was all rough with hair. He had great tufts of hair upon his brows, and as great a tuft upon the neb of his nose. At the first sight the people laughed loud. But when he began to speak, he procured attention, as if it had been to a preacher. He discoursed with great force of spirit and mighty voice, exhorting men of all ranks and degrees to hear him, and to take example by him. He declared how wicked and riotous he had been, what he had done and conquest by sea, how he had spended and abused himself on land, and what God had justly brought upon him for the same. He had wit, he had riches, he had strength, and ability of body, he had fame and estimation above all others in his trade and rank, but all was vanity that made him misken his God. But God would not be misskenned by the highest. Turning himself to the boss-window, where the King and Aubigny (Lennox) was above, and Morton standing beneath, grapping (gnawing) upon his staff, he applied to him in special, as was marvellous in the ears of the hearers; so that many were astonished, and some moved to tears, beholding and hearkening to the man. Among other things, he warned the Earl not obscurely, that his judgment was drawing near, and his doom in dressing. And in very deed, at the same time was his death contrived. The contrivers would have suspected a discovery, if they had not known the man to be phrenetic and bereft of his wit. The Earl was so moved and touched at the heart, that, during the time of the play, he never changed the gravity of his countenance, for all the sports of the play." *Hist. of the Kirk*, tom. iii. p. 462.

menses which pressed him to return.* With such feelings, and sharing too in the apprehensions for the Kirk that were generally entertained, he readily entered into a new conspiracy with his friend Ruthven, now created Earl of Gowrie, and the Master of Glamis. The King was on a visit to Ruthven Castle, enjoying his favourite pastime of the chase—Arran and Lennox were at a distance—they assembled a thousand of their vassals, and surrounded the castle—resistance would have been in vain, and from that hour the confederates assumed the administration of affairs.† Arran was thrown into prison, and Lennox retired to France, where he died soon afterwards broken-hearted, and vindicating the sincerity of his conversion by professing the Protestant faith with his latest breath.

Nearly a year elapsed before James's friends were enabled to rescue him from the confederates. The latter, deceived by the apparent sincerity with which he complied with all their requisitions, relaxed their vigilance in watching him, and thus gave him the opportunity of concerting with his partisans a plan for escape. Having been permitted to visit St. Andrews, where a Convention of the Estates was shortly to be held, he pretended a desire to see the Castle, the keeper of which was in his interest. No sooner had he entered, than the gates were closed, his enemies were excluded, and he was once more his own master. Crawford, Huntley, Argyle, and others, to whom he had communicated his intentions, occupied the town next morning with their followings, and Gowrie, deserting the confederates and acknowledging his treason, the other lords, finding their force unequal to the occasion, were obliged to make their submission.‡ The King pardoned them, in fulfilment of a pledge to that effect previously given to

* See the *Bowes Correspondence*, pp. 148, 161, 166.—And when he did return, it was to announce by his altered manner the depth of his resentment. In a debate in Council upon the recent concessions to Catholicism, "the Lord Lindsay," says a letter in the British Museum, "rubbed the Duke [of Lennox] so near, as he thought, that the Duke thereupon brast out in a great passion and words towards Lindsay, who lightly regarded his anger and boasts, saying that, if the Duke would run that course, (meaning to change the religion and state,) he should find as sharp swords as he could bring. The King herein seemed to bear well with Lindsay, persuading the Duke to conceive no otherways of Lindsay's words than they gave just cause." *Occurrents from Scotland*, Nov. 24, 1581, MSS. Cotton., Calig. C. ix. 3.

† *Tytler*, tom. viii. p. 125; *Moyse*, p. 38.

‡ June 23, 1583. *Tytler*, tom. viii. p. 168; *Calderwood*, tom. iii. p. 715.

his resetters, and commanded two chief nobles of each faction, Angus and Marr on the one side, and Crawford and Huntley on the other, to withdraw from court for a season, "as being in some sort the representatives of the contending parties, whose absence might prevent the renewal of factious debates. The King, in the interim, proposed to guide his affairs by the less violent partisans, selected, indifferently from both sides, from those nobles whom he meant to retain about his person."*

Arran, however, soon returned, and regained his influence over the King, who was induced by his persuasion to command the nobles he had lately pardoned to take out remissions, as if their crime was still unexpiated. No one obeyed, and another edict was issued, declaring all who should not give in their submission before a certain day, rebels. Angus surrendered himself; the rest either fled to England, or concealed themselves in their own territories.

"It was now expected," says Mr. Tytler, "that a period of order and quiet would succeed the banishment of the disaffected Lords; for, although the counsels of Arran were violent, there was a wiser and more moderate party in the King's confidence, which checked for a little time his rashness and lust of undivided power. To this class belonged the celebrated Sir James Melville,

* *Sir Walter Scott.*—"The Earls of Marr and Angus passed home indeed," says Moysie, "but Huntley and Crawford stayed still at Cairney" (Crawford's principal castle) "in Fife." *Memoirs*, p. 45; *Bowes Correspondence*, p. 480.—Exactly two months before this, Crawford had applied to Queen Elizabeth through Sir Robert Bowes for a safe-conduct to pass through England "to travel beyond seas." "His devotion and course with the French," says Bowes, writing to Walsingham, "is sufficiently known to you; nevertheless, that her Majesty's pleasure may be done herein to her Highness' best contentment, I have thought it my duty to commend his request to your knowledge and consideration." *Corresp.*, p. 417.—The passport was probably refused.—Visiting St. Andrews on the 3rd of July, Bowes found, "besides the ordinary guard, some of the friends and servitors of Huntley and Crawford were drawn into the Castle, approving especial trust to be given to their masters for the safety of the King's person." *Ibid.*, p. 478.—Six days afterwards he writes, "It is looked that Crawford shall be with the King this day, and continue about him; likewise many other, known to be great favourers of the French course and of the King's mother, receive good countenance and grace in court, giving many to distrust and verily to think that this change of company about the King shall within short time hazard some change or trouble in the state." *Ibid.*, p. 486.—Shortly after this, the Master of Crawford was appointed Chief Master Stabler to King James, *ibid.*, p. 538; and the King wrote to the magistrates of Dundee "commanding them to elect and take Crawford to be their provost, albeit they had chosen their own provost to be still continued in his office." *Ibid.*, p. 585.

with his brother Sir Robert, and some of the more temperate spirits in the Kirk. One of these, Mr. David Lindsay, accounted among the best of the brethren, addressed a letter at this time to Bowes, the late ambassador, in which he spoke in high terms of the young King. He advised Bowes to write to James; assured him that advice from him was sure to be well received; and added that his royal master had recently in private assured him that Secretary Walsingham was the wisest man he had ever spoken with; that the more he had pondered on the counsels he had given him in their late meeting, the better and more profitable they appeared. 'I perceive,' said he to Bowes, 'his Majesty begins to to take better tent (heed) to his own estate and weal nor (than) he has done heretofore; and espies the nature of such as rather regards their own particular (interest) nor the quietness of this country and his Majesty's welfare; which compels him to see some better order taken, and that by the advice of the most upright and discreet men that he can find in this country; for he shewed me himself, that he got councillors enough to counsel him to wound and hurt his commonwealth, but finds very few good chirurgeons to help and heal the same, and therefore must play that part himself.'* — Little," adds the historian, "did this excellent member of the Kirk dream that, at the moment he was breathing out his own secret wishes, and those of his sovereign, for peace, into the bosom of Bowes and Walsingham, and entreating their cooperation as peace-makers, these very men were busy getting up a new rebellion in Scotland, to which their royal mistress gave her full approval,—but nothing can be more certain. The chief conspirators were the banished noblemen, Angus, Marr, the Master of Glamis, the Earl of Bothwell, Lord Lindsay, and their associates."† — Their "quarrel" was the maintenance of the true Protestant religion and the word of God against the machinations of Arran and the King, whom they deemed disguised Catholics. Arran, however, obtained a clue to the conspiracy, and crushed it in the germ, capturing Gowrie, one of their leaders, — he was tried and condemned, on evidence wiled from him in private under the mask of friendship, and was beheaded at Stirling on the 4th of May, 1584. Lord Lindsay of the

* *Calderwood*, tom. iv. p. 22.

† MS. Letter, 2 Nov. 1583, quoted by *Tytler*, tom. viii. p. 182.

Byres—now a very old man, and less active than formerly, was at the same time committed to Tantallon Castle, as a suspected partaker in the conspiracy,* and with a view probably to prevent his taking part with the Kirk in the events that were about to follow.†

Arran now threw off the mask, and with the concurrence of James, who had long been jealous of the Kirk and desirous of introducing Episcopacy, proposed measures which amounted to the total overthrow of the independence and authority of the Kirk. One especial thorn in the side of James was the licence of the ministers in the pulpit, expressing their political opinions without reserve, and thus exerting a most pernicious and democratical influence over the people. In the early days of the Reformation, while their opponents were few and their friends in power, they had been encouraged in this, but the fatal consequences were now apparent. The evil had not reached the height it subsequently attained to, and the measures adopted against them were unquestionably severe.

The ministers acted with great moderation, merely requesting to be heard in their own defence before the obnoxious Acts should be passed in Parliament. Mr. David Lindsay, "one of the most

* "Warrant and Command, subscribed by the King and Council, to Mr. John Maitland of Thirlestane, to transport Patrick Lord Lindsay to ward to Thorntallon, 24 April, 1584."—*Inventory of the Earl of Lauderdale's Writs, Acts Parl.*, tom. vii. p. 155.—The preceding year, Lord Lindsay was described in the sketch of the 'State, Parties,' &c., of the Scottish nobility, as "a very ancient baron, of good living, friendship, and power, chiefly in Fife." *Rem. Miscellany*, tom. i. p. 66.

† "The history of Scotland from the Reformation," observes Mr. Hallam, "assumes a character not only unlike that of preceding times, but to which there is no parallel in modern ages. It became a contest, not between the Crown and the feudal aristocracy as before, nor between the asserters of prerogative and privilege as in England, nor between the possessors of established power and those who deemed themselves oppressed by it, as is the usual course of civil discord; but between the temporal and spiritual authorities, the Crown and the Church,—that in general supported by the legislature, this sustained by the voice of the people. Nothing of this kind, at least in anything like so great a degree, has occurred in other Protestant countries; the Anglican Church being, in its original constitution, bound up with the State as one of its component parts, but subordinate to the whole,—and the ecclesiastical order in the kingdoms and commonwealths of the Continent being either destitute of temporal authority, or at least subject to the civil magistrate's supremacy." *Constit. History of England*, tom. ii. p. 668, edit. 4to.—These observations afford the key to the whole domestic or internal history of Scotland from the period we are now engaged upon to the Revolution of 1688—and even to the present day.

temperate of the ministers,"* and an advocate for Episcopacy—"who was most gracious," says Calderwood, "to the Court," though he likewise had animadverted severely on Arran's conduct—was commissioned to make this their prayer known to the King; but he was denied access to the presence, arrested by Arran at the gates of the palace, on the charge of holding correspondence with England, confined that night in Holyrood-house, and the next morning carried prisoner to the Castle of Blackness, where he remained nearly a year in confinement.† Two other ministers, however, Mr. James Lawson and Mr. Walter Balcanquhal, boldly protested against the Acts, when proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, and then fled to England, where Lawson soon afterwards died of grief.

Arran and his friends now ruled supreme in the state. Confiscation and plunder went on upon all sides,‡ and the miserable state of Scotland and the peril of the Kirk—a little flock in the midst of the oppressors—are aptly expressed in a vision, which Mr. David Lindsay is reported to have witnessed at this time in his prison at Blackness. "Suddenly," says Mr. Tytler, "in the firmament there appeared a figure in the likeness of a man, of glorious shape and surpassing brightness; the sun was above his head, the moon beneath his feet, and he seemed to stand in the midst of the stars. As the captive gazed, an angel alighted at the feet of this transcendant being, bearing in his right hand a red naked sword, and in his left a scroll: to whom the glorious shape seemed to give commandment,—upon which, the avenging angel, for so he now appeared to be, flew rapidly through the heavens, and lighted on the ramparts of a fortress, which Lindsay recognized as the Castle of Edinburgh. Before its gate stood the Earl of Arran and his flagitious consort,§ the Earl gazing in horror on the destroying minister, who waved his sword above his head; his

* *Tytler.*—He characterises him elsewhere as "one of the mildest and most learned of their number." *Hist.*, tom. viii. p. 63.

† *Calderwood*, tom. iv. p. 63; *Spotswood*, p. 333.

‡ Crawford obtained the Abbey-lands of Scone, *Tytler*, tom. viii. p. 269,—and the Church-lands of Abernethy, *Acts Parl.*, tom. iii. p. 371. He aimed also at the abbacies of Arbroath and Cambuskenneth, *Bowes Correspondence*, pp. 560, 577, but unsuccessfully.

§ Elizabeth, the divorced wife of Robert Earl of Lennox and March, one of the most depraved women of her time.

Countess smiling in derision, and mocking his fears. The scene then changed,—the captive was carried to an eminence, from which he looked down upon the land, with its wide fields, its cities and palaces. Suddenly, the same terrible visitant appeared; a cry of lamentation arose from its devoted towns—the sword did its work—the rivers ran with blood—and the fields were covered with the dead. It was a fearful sight; but, amidst its horrors, a little bell was heard; and within a church, which had stood uninjured even in the flames, a remnant of the faithful assembled; to whom the angel uttered these words of awful admonition:—'Metuant justi. Iniquitatem fugite. Diligite justitiam et judicium,—aut citò revertar, et posteriora erunt pejora prioribus!'* Lindsay asserted that it was impossible for him to ascertain whether this scene, which seemed to shadow out the persecutions and prospects of the Kirk, was a dream or a vision; but it brought to his mind, he said, a prophecy of Knox; who, not long before his death, had predicted great peril to the faithful in the eighteenth year of the reign of James." †—The feverish enthusiasm to which his mind had been worked up during the solitude of his prison at Blackness—a fortress on the Southern coast of the Forth, and at the extremity of a peninsula, continually washed by the melancholy waves of the German Ocean—may sufficiently account for the vision thus strikingly recorded.

But the downfall of Arran and the release of David Lindsay were at hand. The banished Lords, supported by Queen Elizabeth, entered Scotland with a large army, and marched unexpectedly upon the King at Stirling. No one was with him except Arran, and the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, who garrisoned the Castle with their followers. "During the night betwixt the last of October and the 1st of November, 1584," says Mr. Chambers, "Arran, Montrose, and Crawford kept an anxious watch upon the walls. Early in the morning, by a preconcerted design, the confederate army advanced upon the town in three detachments, two of which were to make feigned attacks on different parts of the walls, to attract the attention of the besieged, while the third

* Sir George Warrender's MSS. vol. B. fol. 28.—"A vision [which] appeared to Mr. David Lindsay, he being in his bed in the house of Blackness, in the month of October, 1584." *Note, Tytler.*

† *Tytler*, tom. viii. p. 287; *Calderwood*, tom. iv. p. 167.

poured its force upon one of the gates, which was considered a weak point. An entrance being soon gained in this manner, little remained to do but to disperse the terror-struck bands of the besieged. Arran no sooner saw the enemy make entrance, than, giving up all for lost, he galloped out of the town by the opposite side, crossed the Forth by the bridge, the gate of which * he locked behind him, throwing the keys into the river, and fled Northward, almost unattended. The Earls of Montrose and Crawford, with other of his friends, then retired into the Castle, to take refuge with the King." †

The confederates invested the Castle early the next morning; it was totally defenceless.—The whole proceedings were a solemn farce. "They sufferit na victuals," says Moysie, a contemporary annalist, "to enter at the Castle, but sa meikle as servit the King's awin mouth, while (till) at the last the King causit hald up ane white napkin and crave the assurance, promising the rendering of the Castle." ‡ The King sent his Secretary and the Justice-Clerk to speak with the confederates,—they replied submissively and respectfully, professing their obedience and willingness to serve him.—"This," says Spotswood, "being reported to the King, did mitigate his mind a little. 'For myself,' said he, 'I did never like that man's violence,' (meaning Arran,)—'and, howbeit I cannot but offend with their doings, yet, for the country's sake and preservation of public quietness, I can pardon and overpass all. But one thing I desire of you that have been in conference with them to look to,—that none in my company receive any harm. I know there are quarrels betwixt the Earl of Crawford and the Master of Glamis; that the Earl of Angus doth not like Montrose,—and I believe that Colonel Stewart is not beloved for things done in my service. These I cannot see, with mine honour, hurt; provide for that, and that they may be in safety, and I shall willingly admit them.' The Lords replied, that they had not taken up arms for any private quarrel, nor would they mix their particulars with the public; but it would

* There was generally a tower with a strong gate or portcullis in the centre or at the extremity of a bridge of those times.

† Chambers' *Life of James I.*, tom. i. p. 97; *Tytler*, tom. viii. p. 273; *Spotswood*, p. 543.

‡ Moysie's *Memoirs*, p. 54.

be good, for eschewing such inconveniences as might happen, that the noblemen the King had named were put in custody with particular persons.' " *—In short, the revolution was effected; the confederates pretended to beg pardon for their treasonable enterprise against his Majesty; James graciously made a merit of granting what it was useless for him to refuse; Crawford and Montrose were committed to the charge of Lord Hamilton;† Arran, stripped of his honours, sank into private life, and was murdered not long afterwards in a private feud; the insurgents became paramount rulers in the state,—and so ended the Raid of Stirling.

Patrick Lord Lindsay retired almost wholly from public affairs after his release from prison; he died six years after the revolution just described, on the 11th of December, 1589, at a great age, and was succeeded by his son James, the seventh Lord Lindsay of the Byres, who inherited his zealous and ardent character, and bequeathed it to his posterity.

SECTION II.

But a deeper note was about to be struck on the public mind in Scotland than aught elicited by these party feuds. On the 7th of February, 1586-7, the unhappy Mary Queen of Scots was beheaded, by command of Elizabeth, at Fotheringay. The news rang through Scotland "like a funeral knell,"—every heart beat with transports of indignation; and at the close of an harangue by the Chancellor Maitland, "the nobles, in a transport of pity and enthusiasm, threw themselves upon their knees before the King, and, amid the clang of their weapons, and imprecations against Elizabeth, took a vow that they would hazard their lives and fortunes in the quarrel."‡ Raids and forays were instantly

* *Spotswood*, p. 343.—"Security was taken to the Earls of Montrose and Crawford, because of the particular inimities betwixt Angus and Montrose for the death of Morton, betwixt Crawford and the Master of Glamis for the slaughter of the Lord Glamis. They pack up their particulars, so free would they have this work to be of bloodshed." *Calderwood*, tom. iv. p. 594.

† *Spotswood*, p. 343.

‡ *Tytler*, tom. ix. p. 15.

recommenced on the Borders, and everything threatened war between the two countries.

James too shared the common impulse,—but it was for a moment only. The Catholic Lords, Huntley, Crawford, and their friends, immediately opened a correspondence with Spain,* then busied in preparations for the attack upon England immortalized by the failure of the Invincible Armada—but which then, all over Europe, "partook of something like the sanctity of a crusade."† James silently connived at and encouraged this correspondence, permitted the Jesuits to roam at large through the kingdom, and seemed determined to break off with Elizabeth. But all, after the first brief impulse, was profound dissimulation. Elizabeth's envoys made their appearance—with lies in their right hand; the terror of losing the prospective Crown of England became more and more predominant,—and gradually he permitted himself to be patted down into persuasion that the execution had been an unlucky accident,

* *Spotswood.*—Crawford, described in 1583 as "in religion unsettled," (*vide supra*, p. 300,) though always a favourer of the French or Catholic interest, had, between that year and 1589, been converted to the Roman Catholic faith. An intercepted letter from Mr. Robert Bruce to the Duke of Parma, dated 25 Jan. 1589, informs him, that "God . . , by the instant prayers and holy persuasions of two Fathers Jesuits," hath "converted to our holy faith two heretics, Earls of the first authority and power amongst them, the one whereof is called the Earl of Errol, Constable of Scotland, converted by Father Edmund Hay, the other called the Earl of Crawford, converted by Father William Crichton. They are both able and wise young Lords, and most desirous to advance the Catholic faith and your enterprises in this Isle, which they are deliberate to testify to his Majesty Catholic and your Highness by their own letters, which by the grace of God I shall send with the first commodity. In the mean time they have required me to make you offer of their most humble and most affectioned service, promising to follow whatsoever the said Jesuits and I shall think good to be done for the conservation of the Catholics, and to dispose and to facilitate the execution of your enterprises here; which they may do more easily nor (than) they that are known to be Catholics, whose actions are ever suspicious to the heretics for their religion, whereof the two Earls have not yet made outward profession; but in that, as in the rest, they submit themselves to our will and to that we find most expedient." *Calderwood*, MS. v. p. 25.—Sir Walter Lindsay of Balgawlie—youngest son of David of Edzell, ninth Earl of Crawford, and a convert to Catholicism, and of whom I shall speak, though briefly, hereafter—was one of the most active intriguers of his party, and seems to have been sent on a mission to Spain even before the death of Queen Mary. A paper entitled 'The Content of the Discourse made by Mr. Walter Lindsay of Balgays, put in Spanish and in print,' and of date previous to November, 1586, is preserved among the Cottonian MSS., Calig. C. ix. 477. I have printed it in the Appendix, No. XXX., as affording a curious sketch of the prospects and views of the Catholic party immediately before Queen Mary's death.

† *Tytler*, vol. ix. p. 18.

and into cordial cooperation with her whose hand was yet reeking with his mother's blood.—Yet James had good points, and we must not judge too harshly of one who had to steer among difficulties unexampled, and who unquestionably approved himself a wise and patriotic king, whatever may have been the means he adopted to attain his ends, or his private demerits. James, as it appears to me, deserves at once higher praise and severer blame than any one historian has yet bestowed upon him.*

Being now of age and the last of his family, he determined on matrimony, and opened a negotiation with Denmark to that effect, directing his whole energies in the mean while to the reduction of his kingdom to peace and quietness, anticipative of the happy prospect before him. His first object was to appease the hereditary feuds which either raged or smouldered throughout the kingdom. Crawford and Glamis, Montrose and Angus, were the chief delinquents. These, and other hereditary enemies, he invited to a sumptuous banquet at Holyrood-house, and persuaded them to pledge to him and to each other friendship and good understanding for the future. This reconciliation was solemnized after a singular fashion. "After supper," says Mr. Chambers, "the whole party sallied out of the palace into the streets of the neighbouring city, exactly in the guise in which they had sat at table, that is, without sword and doublet, and, ranging themselves into a column, walked hand in hand to the Market-Cross, the King at their head, supported by his kinsman Hamilton, and they themselves each side by side with the particular individual against whom he had lately borne the most deadly hostility. So strange a procession attracted an immense crowd; and it was not without feelings of the highest gratification that the peaceable citizens beheld a scene which seemed to betoken a conclusion to all civil war in the country. The magistrates, according to the report of one of their fellow-citizens, went in advance of the procession, dancing for very joy. The prisoners for debt were liberated from gaol; the Cross was hung with tapestry, and planted with trumpeters and singers; the gibbets, which had stood there for years, to execute the numerous victims of civil discord, were hewed down and burnt; and, a long table being placed upon the street, the King

* See some observations on this point in a note to Section III. of the following Chapter.

and the nobles sat down and partook of a civic banquet, while every window and outer stair in the neighbourhood displayed a similar scene of feasting and social joy. After all the individuals formerly at feud had publicly shaken hands with each other, and drunk to each other's health, the whole returned in similar order to the palace, amidst music, the firing of cannon, and the blessings of a people which seemed absolutely transported with joy." *

Some of these reconciliations were, however, too hasty to last long. Scarcely a year after the banquet, Sir John Ogilvie of Inverquharitie, the representative of Earl Beardie's rival, had to take out a remission for the slaughter of John Lindsay of Blairfeddan,† whose death was revenged on Ogilvie of Balinscho, another of the hostile clan, by Sir John Lindsay, brother of Lord Crawford, who possessed himself of the lands of his enemy.‡ This "little interlude" may evince that the ancient grudge lay too deep for the cautery of the British Solomon.

James had yet another and a very serious commotion to quell before he could consider Scotland fit for the reception of a bride,—a rebellion of the Catholic Earls, Huntley, Crawford, and Errol, who were all-powerful in the North of Scotland. They had been scheming for several years; we find the King marching against them, when assembled in force at the Brig of Dee in 1586,§—and, again in that year, the simple fact of Arran, Huntley, Montrose, and Crawford having held a meeting at the lodging of the latter had "made some distrust."‖ Similar suspicions arose in May, 1587, about the time of the pacification of feuds, when Huntley, Crawford, and Bothwell were accused of treasonable insurrection against the King; but nothing was established against them.¶

* *Life of James I.*, tom. i. p. 137.—"At this time," says Moysie, between the 20th of April and 15th of May, 1587, "great travels were tain be his Majesty for the reconciling of the Earl of Crawford and Master of Glamis, and at last, be the earnest intercession of Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, knight, Secretar, [these] were tain up (accommodated); in whose house they all, the xiiii day of the said month, suppit together, within Halyrood-house." *Memoirs*, p. 63.—For the description of the banquet, see *Calderwood*, tom. iv. p. 613.

† Feb. 21, 1588. *MS. Inventory, Haigh Muniment-room.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Hist. of King James the Sext*, p. 224.

‖ *Letter, Courvelles to D'Esneval*, 31 Oct. 1586.

¶ Deep plots seem to have been going on, if we may trust a letter in cipher to Walsingham, 26th of April, 1587, discovered among the papers of the Master of

One is inclined indeed to doubt whether the private political views of his party, and the fear of having his resources weakened at such a crisis by any feudal quarrel, may not have influenced Crawford so readily to forego the treasured hate of two hundred years, and grasp the hand of Glamis, his deadly foe, in amity and forgiveness.

The Northern chiefs were joined by Lord Maxwell, also of the same religious creed, and who, like his colleagues, expected that the result of the insurrection would be the restoration of the Catholic faith throughout Britain. They entered into correspondence with the Prince of Parma, offering their service to Philip of Spain—inviting the Prince to set sail for Scotland, and undertaking, with the assistance of six thousand men, to secure him in the cooperation of their country, and raise so many of their followers that he should have a gallant army ready at his pleasure to march into England. This correspondence fell into the hands of Elizabeth, who sent it to James, enjoining him to crush this dangerous conspiracy by prompt and decisive measures.*

It was high time. A preliminary plot was in agitation, for seizing the King's person, and "decourting," as it was termed, or excluding from the royal presence, the Chancellor Maitland and Master of Glamis, High Treasurer, the King's chief councillors and the determined enemies of the conspirators. The latter agreed to meet at the "Quarry-holes" between Leith and Edinburgh, and from thence proceed to Holyrood-house, and seize the King. The plot was disconcerted by the penetration of James,

Gray. The writer had been, in company with the Master, (who had become an enemy to England, and taken part with the Catholics,) on a visit to Huntley, "who, being ane precise Catholic, mislikes alsua of the present estate and government, and has the whole noblemen of this country bandit together till (to) assist, pursue, and defend with him, and he with them, in all his and their acts, sic as Crawfurd, Montrose, Marischal, Ogilvy, Caithness, Sutherland, Saltoun, Elphinstone, Forbes, Gray, with the greatest part of our Highlandis, and all the barons and countrymen. He offerit in his letter, and he wes, to lay ane plat (having his assistance) to let our King out of thir men's hands, and so not only to move his Majesty to take armis against England, whereupon liberty of conscience should necessarily follow, but alsua to persuade him to take journey to France, that thereby all things might attain to their desirit effect."—The "plat" was, that the King should be drawn to Dunfermline, "accompanied with such of his own domesties as were for the purpose," &c.—*Letters and Papers relating to the Master of Gray*, p. 143.

* *Tytler*, vol. ix. p. 26; *Calderwood*, vol. v. p. 7.

who, suspecting that some evil was in agitation against the Chancellor, refused to return to the palace, and remained with him at his lodging in Edinburgh. Crawford and Errol, "with their friendship," came on the appointed day as far as the North Ferry, where they waited for Huntley. Huntley, hearing of the change of residence, and confiding in the King's personal friendship, took the bold step of waiting upon him, accompanied by Sir Henry Lindsay of Kinfauns, and several of Errol's followers, "men that were esteemed of best courage and action." Their presence overawed any attempt at arrest, but on the following morning the King sent for Huntley, and demanded the cause of his coming to Edinburgh,—his answers were not satisfactory; the King arrested and sent him to the Castle of Edinburgh, and, news being brought of Crawford and Errol's having come in arms to the North Ferry, the whole plot was discovered, and the Earls made their submission.*

Crawford and Huntley, "whether of purpose," says Spotswood, "or of accident is uncertain," met a few days afterwards at Perth, "where at first they concluded to fortify the town as a place of most convenience for drawing forces from all quarters; but, doubting how they should make good the enterprise, they gave it over, and getting intelligence that the Thesaurer (Glamis) was come to Angus, and had appointed a meeting of some friends at the church of Meigle, they belaid the ways, and gave him the chase unto the house of Kirkhill, where he was received. Being desired to render, upon his refuse, fire was set to the house and he forced to yield himself, as he did, to his cousin the Laird of Achindown, who kept him some weeks prisoner in the North." †

Huntley, Crawford, and Errol now broke out into open rebellion; they retired to their several countries, collected their followers, and rendezvoused at Aberdeen about the beginning of April, where they made proclamation, calling upon the lieges to assist them in rescuing the King from those who held him captive, and compelled him to measures against his nobility that he otherwise would be unwilling to accede to. James lost no time in advancing against them. His army arrived at Cowie, ten miles from Aberdeen, about the middle of April, when he was informed

* *Spotswood*, p. 374. † *Ibid.*

that the three Earls, at the head of three thousand men, were in direct march against him.

The royal army kept watch the whole night, but in the morning it appeared that the insurgents had dispersed, neither Huntley nor Crawford, though more in number than the King's army, being willing to engage their sovereign in battle, "because," they alleged, "of the danger that might come to the King's person,"—though the indisposition of their vassals to the cause of treason, and fears of forfeiture on their own part, may more readily account for it. Errol, it is said, wished to attack the King, and, being unable to persuade Crawford and Huntley to join him, "parted from them at the Brig of Dee in great wrath. The rebellion thus sank down at once in ashes. The Treasurer was released, and, returning to Court, interceded with the King for his captors, Crawford and Huntley, who "offered to enter their persons in ward, and submit themselves to the punishment his Majesty might be pleased to impose." Crawford came to Edinburgh on the 20th of May, and was warded in his own lodging. He was tried, on the 24th, in the Tolbooth, and found guilty of convening with certain noblemen at the Quarry-holes between Leith and Edinburgh, for devising enterprises tending to the alteration of the present estate of the King and country,—of surprising the town of St. Johnstone, or Perth,—of raising fire, and besieging the house of Kirkhill, and forcing the Treasurer Glamis to render himself captive,—and of coming to the Bridge of Dee, in arms and with displayed banners, against his Majesty. The other Earls were tried at the same time, and all found guilty of various points in the indictment. The King, however, would not allow sentence to be pronounced, but committed them to various prisons, Errol to Tantallon, Crawford to Blackness, and Huntley to Edinburgh Castle; "and, after keeping them a few months in confinement, he took occasion, amidst the public festivity and rejoicings on the approach of his marriage, to set them at liberty." *

* *Tytler*, tom. ix. pp. 29 sqq.; *Spotswood*, p. 375; *Calderwood*, tom. v. p. 55; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, tom. i. part ii. pp. 171 sqq.—Moysie says that "word came in the morning that a swerf (swoon) had overgone the Lordis hearts, and that their forces were dissolvit, and that the Earl of Crawford was the first that past away and left them. Then the barons and others gentlemen, considering that his Majesty was in proper person upon the fields, and the Lords' quarrel to be an frivole

Crawford soon afterwards received a safe-conduct to pass through England on his way to France,* and we hear little or nothing more of him for several years.†

The country being now in a more peaceful state than had been known for many years, the King made his formal proposals to the Princess Anne of Denmark, who, after having been married to him by proxy, set sail for Scotland in August, 1589. Her fleet was, however, driven on the coast of Norway by contrary winds, and so shattered, that no hope remained of her arrival before the following spring. On the receipt of this news, the spirit of James V. for once revived in his grandson; he sailed for Norway in quest of his bride, accompanied by Maitland the Chancellor, Alexander Lindsay, his vice-Chamberlain, younger brother of Lord Crawford, and who had advanced him ten thousand gold crowns towards the expenses of the expedition,‡ and Mr. David Lindsay, minister of Leith, his chaplain, who, on the 23rd of November, 1589, "married his Majesty," as he writes to the "eldership of Edinburgh," at Upslo in Norway, to "a princess both godly and beautiful, as appeareth to all that knoweth her,"§—performing the marriage ceremony in the French language.‖ The royal party sailed for Denmark on the 22nd of December, and on the 21st of January arrived at Cronenburg Castle, where they passed the winter in festivity.

Alexander Lindsay, however, in the midst of the rejoicings fell

agaues their awin native prince, they skayled (dispersed) ane and ane, and past away." *Memoirs*, p. 75.—Calderwood says that Crawford "alleged that Huntley pretended a commission for gathering his forces, and that, when he understood the contrary, he left him." *Hist. Kirk*, folio. v. p. 55.—We must not forget that James himself had instigated the whole rebellion after the death of Queen Mary.

* *Douglas' Peerage*, tom. i. p. 380.

† He returned to Scotland in 1601, after a long absence, as appears from some curious minutes of the Kirk, given in a note to the fifth Section of the following Chapter.

‡ Rhind's *Sketches of Moray*, p. 108.—He is described in 1580 as having "from his youth been at all times and many ways employit in his Majesty's service."

§ Letter printed in *Calderwood*, tom. v. p. 69.

‖ *Spotswood*, p. 379. Moysie describes the first meeting of the royal pair at Upslo. The King, "immediately at his coming, past quietly, with boits (boots) and all, to her Highness...He mindit to give the Queen a kiss after the Scottish fashion at meeting, whilk she refusit as not being the form of her country. Marry, after a few words privily spoken betwix his Majesty and her, there past familiarity and kisses." *Memoirs*, p. 81.

ill, and a consolatory letter addressed to him on the occasion by his royal master is one of the most characteristic relics of "gentle King Jamie:"—

"Sandie,

"Quhill (till) youre goode happe furneis me sum bettir occasion to recompence youre honest and faithfull seruice, utterid be youre diligent and cairfull attendance upon me, speciallie at this tyme, lett this assure you, in the inviolabill worde of youre awin Prince and maister, that quhen Godd randeris me in Skotlande, I sall irrenocablie, and with consent of Parliament, sweet you the temporalitie of Murraye in a temporal lordshipp, with all honouris thairto appertening.—Lett this serue for cure to youre present disease.

"From the Castell of Croneburg, quhaire we are drinking and dryuing our (rattling away) in the auld maner.

"J. R."*

After four months' residence in Denmark, the King took leave of that hospitable country, and reembarked for Scotland. He had written previously to the Council, to prepare in proper style for his Queen's reception, since, as he wisely observes, "a King of Scotland, with a new-married wife, will not come hame every day." Accordingly, on their arrival at the pier of Leith, May the 1st, 1590, they were welcomed in great state by the principal nobles and the whole population of Edinburgh in their gayest attire, and, after the roaring of cannon and the discharge of a Latin oration from Mr. James Elphinstone, proceeded to a palace named "the King's Wark" in Leith, belonging to James's chamber-chield, or groom of the chambers, Bernard Lindsay of Lochhill,† where they

* Printed in Dalyell's *Fragments*, p. 88, from the original preserved among Sir James Balfour's MSS., *Adv. Library*.—I have not modernised the orthography of the royal letters inserted in this work.

† James had previously granted him this palace as a free barony, on a tenure characteristic of the donor,—one of the cellars was to be kept in constant repair, for holding wines and other provisions for the King's use. Bernard rebuilt the palace, and put the ancient tower into full repair; he also built a large tennis-court "for the recreation of his Majesty, and of foreigners of rank resorting to the kingdom, to whom it afforded great satisfaction and delight, advancing the politeness and contributing to the ornament of the country, to which, by its happy situation, on the shore of Leith, where there was so great a concourse of strangers and

spent a week, and then removed to Holyrood. On Sunday, the 17th of May, the Queen was crowned in the Abbey-church by Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. David Lindsay.*

The King in the mean while had not forgotten his promise to his young chamberlain, Alexander Lindsay. On the 6th of May, the very day the royal party arrived at Holyrood, he united the temporalities of the see of Moray—which he had assigned to him in acquittance of the ten thousand crowns previously advanced to him—into a free barony in his favour, with the title of Lord Spynie to himself and his heirs.† This creation was

foreigners, it was peculiarly adapted."—Such is the eulogy bestowed, in King James's charter, on this scene of royal gaiety; which afterwards became—a custom-house, and now retains no memorial of its courtly owner, save the name of the adjoining street, emasculated, since Arnot's time, into Saint Bernard's Nook. Arnot's *Hist. of Edinburgh*, p. 372.*—Bernard's name is familiar to those to whom Walton's Lives are dear, as the introducer of the false "Octavio Baldi" to his royal master. See the 'Life of Sir Henry Wotton' for a curious account of this interview. One of his sons was groom of the chambers to Charles I., and another cupbearer to Charles II. during his childhood. His younger brother, Robert Lindsay, chief harbinger to James I., was ancestor of the Lindsays of Loughry or Tullaoge, settled for the last two hundred years, and still flourishing, in Tyrone. Robert Lindsay of Loughry, the friend and legal adviser of Dean Swift, described by Sir Walter Scott (Swift's *Works*, tom. xiv. p. 237) as "a polite and elegant scholar, at that time an eminent pleader at the bar in Dublin, and afterwards one of the Justices of the Common Pleas," was great-grand-uncle of the present John Lindsay, Esq., of Loughry.

* Moysie's *Memoirs*, p. 83.

† *Reg. Mag. Sig.*—This, says Mr. Maidment, is "the only existing writing to which the creation is referable." The estates "are conveyed to the grantee, his heirs and assigns," "and thereafter follows this clause:—'Dando, concedendoque dicto Magistro Alexandro, suis predictis, Titulum, Honorem, Ordinem, et Statum liberi Baronis, qui nunc et imperpetuum Baronus de Spynie nuncupabuntur.'"—"Lord Spynie sat and voted in the first Parliament summoned after his creation, and obtained a parliamentary ratification of the Crown grant in his favour, *Acts*, tom. ii. p. 650,—in which the charter is engrossed at full length, and is confirmed in every respect, and of new 'gives, grants, and dispones to the said Alexander Lord of Spynie, and Dame Jean Lyon, Countess of Angus, his spouse, the langest liver of them twa, in conjunct-fee, *and to the heirs lawfully gotten or to be gotten betwix them*, whilks failzeing (failing), to the nearest and lawful heirs male of the said Alexander whatsomever, and their assignees, heritably,' the Lordship and Barony of Spynie, 'and gives and grants to the said Alexander Lord of Spynie, *and his foresaids*, the honour, estate, dignity, and preeminence of ane free Lord of Parliament, to be intitulate Lords of Spynie in all time coming, with all privileges

* "The name of Bernard Street, which is now conferred on the broad thoroughfare that leads eastward from the shore, still preserves a memorial of the favourite chamber-child of James VI." Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh*, tom. ii. p. 144.

formally confirmed on the 12th of November, when, according to an old chronicle, Alexander Lindsay was knighted, and immediately thereafter made Lord of our Sovereign Lordis Parliament, and namit Lord Spynie."* —But King James was not satisfied with heaping honours on his favourite. He had for a long time been a suitor on his behalf to Dame Jean Lyon, daughter of Lord Glamis, the widow successively of Robert Master of Morton and Archibald Earl of Angus, and one evidently who would not be won without wooing. Two of James's letters to this lady, pending the courtship, have been preserved, and are highly characteristic, and withal creditable to his kindly feelings,—it is a pity that neither of them are dated, but they are evidently before the expedition to Norway. The first is as follows,—addressed

"*To our right traist and weill belovit, The Countesse of Angus. Douarier*:"—

"Madame,

"Althocht the straitness of this tyme sa occupies me with affaires as I can neuer obtayne ane ydle hour, yett, in the nerrie middes thairof, I ame compellid in haist to writte to you thir few lynes, that tyme be not tint (lost) on any hande. According to my promeis, I am resolute to advance this mann of myne, quhome for I have nou sa lang delt with you, to the rank that ye was last joyned withall, that ye may be matched with that ranke quhilke ye presentlie possess; and this will I do without faill at the time of the solemnization of my marriage, as the properest tyme for sicc ane action; and for prouyding him of a lining correspondant to that estait, I promeis you I sall quitt na possibilitie of tyme for doing the ane als weill as the other, quhairof the performing of

belonging thereto: To be haldin of our Sovereign Lord and his successors in free heritage, and in ane free temporal Lordship, Barony, and Regality for ever.'—This Act was followed by a Crown Charter, dated 17 April, 1593, with the same destination, conveying the barony, and especially giving and granting to Alexander Lord of Spynie, 'suisque heredibus et assignatis supra recitatis,' the title, honour, order, and status of a free Baron and Lord of Parliament, who should be styled and entitaled Lord of Spynie in all time." *Report of Spynie Peerage Claim*, p. 4.—Concerning the claim of the present heir-female of Spynie to that ancient barony, see a note *infra*, Chap. XVII. Sect. III.

* Sir James Balfour, ap. Carmichael's *Tracts concerning the Peerage of Scotland*, p. 27.—According to Moysie, it was on the 4th of November that "Mr. Alexander Lindsay" was "made Lord of Spynie." *Memoirs*, p. 85.

this first sall be a certane pledge. Nou, Madame! sen I ame thus nayes to play my pairt on the ane syde, I looke ye will not tyne tyme on the other pairt, as I have allreaddie said, and thairfoir I man (must) maist earnestlie request yow, gif ye will sa farr oblege me, as to testifie that ye do all this for my sayke, as ye wrett unto me, that then ye will presently subscryue the contract, and cause proclaime the banns; quhilke thing, as I assure myself ye will for my sayke at this tyme performe, sa may ye laye full accounte that, as I have oft promeisit unto you, I sall euer remaine best freinde to you baith, be your patrone in all your adoes, and revenger of all tortis (wrongs) that any darr offer to ather of you, —and thus, in haist, I bid you fair weill!

"Youre best freinde,

JAMES R."

And the second is still more urgent:—

"Madame,

"As I have no new occasion, sa have I na new thing to uritt at this present, except a new tout (blast) in ane aulde horne, as thay saye, thairby to renew unto you that quhilke I euer wishe to be new in your breist quhill (until) the performance thairof. I can use na other argumentis unto you then I used at my last speiking with you, and I trust I neid not to repeat the same, sen I take you to be als weill willing in that maitter as euer ye was, and, in a worde, as be merits quhaise bloode, quhaise affection, and quhaise credit with me, I hope, be nathing inferioure to any that can suite you,—and in a (one) thing ame I suire be outrpassis thame all, that quhaire in other folkis bestowing I am but a consentair or assistaire, in this I am the onlie actoure, solistaire, and bestowaire, quhom as I have out of my awin meal beine willing to bestow upon youris, sa reid ye not to doute I will advance him to siec degree as that place meritid. Madame, as my sonnet sayes, I am and man (must) continew best freind to yow baith; sen sa is, for all otheris ye neid the less to caire; ye are rum to parfite aage and can gouerne yourself. Now, sen I ame sa constant in this maitter, and his affection sa lasting, I looke the constancy sall not inlayke (be deficient) at the thridd (third) hande, quhilke otterwayes, as Godd forbidd, this

maitter being so publicklie brokkin furth as it is, wald turne to my skorne, his skaith, and your small honoure. Fair neill!

"He that will and can best in this cause,

"JAMES R."*

To which I may add a third and still later epistle, addressed to Lord Spynie in his more usual and familiar vein, enjoining cooperation in his own behalf, and from which we may conjecture that he had sent him back to Scotland to look after his interests there:—

"Sandie,

"We are going on here in the auld way, and very merry. I 'll not forget you when I come hame,—you shall be a Lord. But mind (remember) Jean Lyon, for her auld tout will make you a new horn.†

"J. R."‡

On the return, accordingly, of King James and the Vice-Chamberlain, and after James had fulfilled his pledge by creating him Lord Spynie, she accepted him; and, on the seventeenth of April, 1593, the lands were regranted to them conjointly by James, with the same destination.§—It was not, as you will have perceived, a mere match of interest, for Spynie had been long attached to her; she proved a fruitful and I believe an excellent spouse and helpmate, and Lord Spynie was in truth of a far higher tone of mind and character than one might at first be inclined to suppose of a favourite of King James VI.‖

* Printed (from the originals, among the MS. Collections of Sir James Balfour, Adv. Library) in the *Abbotsford Miscellany*, p. 215. And see also the *Criminal Trials*, tom. iii. p. 61, of Mr. Pitcairn,—to whom I may take this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgment for much literary and antiquarian courtesy.

† Tantamount to "His auld brass will make me a new pan," in Burns' song.

‡ Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, loc. cit.

§ *Reg. Mag. Sig.*

‖ Feudal enmity, however, I am sorry to say, led him into reprehensible conduct towards the King shortly after his marriage.—Previously to the journey to Norway, we find it noted, that "at this time," 2 Nov. 1588, "Mr. Alexander Lindsay, brother to the Earl of Crawford, being ane great courtier, taik the gift of the King's Guard over the Master of Glamis' head, being Capitain of the Guard, whereupon the guard was broken at the King's command. The Master was angry, his office being given to him be ane Parliament, and ta'en from him without

Lord Spynie and his wife lived thenceforward at Aberdour in great magnificence and hospitality, "that family," says Row, "being rather like a court than a nobleman's family."* In 1605 he resigned the temporalities of Moray at the desire of the King, when the latter wished to restore the ancient bishopric,† and was unhappily slain two years afterwards in a manner which I must reserve for notice in another place.

Several other Lindsays, besides Lord Spynie, were attached to the person of King James,—as for example, Sir Henry Lindsay of Kinfauns, Master of the Queen's Household,—Sir John Lindsay, KB., the eldest son of Sir Henry, Sir James of Pitroddy and Sir Walter of Balgawies, gentlemen of the King's bedchamber,—

offence." Moysie's *Memoirs*, p. 71.—In the same spirit, four years afterwards, in 1592, Lord Spynie, "out of the malice," says Spotswood, "he bare to the Master of Glamis, Treasurer, whom he knew Bothwell also hated," (the celebrated Stewart, Earl of Bothwell,) "did secretly practise to bring him (Bothwell) into the King's presence, and make his reconciliation." He was accused of this before the Council, and of having "resset," or received, "Bothwell in his lady's house at Aberdour." He denied it, and appealed to the combat,—the King would not permit it, but appointed a day for his trial. Spynie appeared—his accuser not; a new day was fixed, at which his accuser's "probation failing, Spynie was restored to his honour, dignity, and service; yet did he never," adds Spotswood, "recover his former credit with the King, but was held still suspected; and, whether offending at this, or that the first declaration was true in itself, the year following he took open part with Bothwell, and was therefore denounced rebel." *Hist.*, &c., p. 389.—Some inclination to the Popish faith may have also concurred to this.

* *Hist. of the Kirk*, tom. i. p. 470.

† The following letter from King James to Lord Spynie on this occasion (*Abbotsford Miscellany*, tom. i. p. 214) is in a more dignified style than some of the preceding,—possibly in consequence of the misunderstanding alluded to in the penultimate note:—

"JAMES R.

"Right trustie and weilbeloved Cousin and Counsellor, we greet you heartly weill. Understanding by the Council's letters, and your awin to us, together with the Bishop of Moray's awin declaration, how willing ye are to surrender your right of that Bishopric in our hands; whilk, as we can nocht account but acceptable to us, sua have we written to the Earl of Dunbar our mind thereanent, for your satisfaction; only we desire ye will be content with the terms of payment, and sen ye have begun weill, let the end be answerable to the beginning, wherein ye shall have na occasion of repentance; the hyest experience of our favour may assure you also hereafter that ye shall be as leer at our hands. Thus, trusting ye will further our service and finish this work, we bid you heartly farewell.

"From Walton Abbey, the seventeenth day of December, 1605."

—The patronage of the church livings, above fifty in number, was reserved by Lord Spynie, and held by the family till it became extinct in the person of George third Lord Spynie, shortly after the Restoration, when it was resumed by the Crown. *Acts Parl.*, tom. iv., p. 653; Rhynd's *Sketches of Moray*, p. 108.

Bernard' Lindsay of Lochhill, his chamber-chield,—Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, nephew of the poet, his herald and Lord Lyon King at Arms, and the author of the very interesting 'Collectanea' on heraldic subjects preserved in the Advocates' Library,*—Mr. David Lindsay, the King's own minister, or chaplain, and minister of Leith, frequently mentioned in the preceding pages,—and I might add the name of Mr. John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir, had he not served him in a higher and more public capacity. But the life and character of the ancestor of the Balcarres family demand a distinct chapter in my narrative.†

* Alluded to *supra*, p. 250.

† As early as September, 1592, says David Moysie, "the Court beguid (began) to mislike the Chancellor (Maitland) and Lindsays that bare court of before,"—the mere courtier swarm that had clustered around King James—rivals to the Treasurer, Master of Glamis. *Memoirs*, p. 96.—With these, John of Balcarres, Lord Menmuir, of whom Moysie was a devoted admirer, must not be confounded.

CHAPTER XIII.

Nadan (after a pause). "You do gaze—
Strangers are wont to do so—on the prospect.
You is the Tay roll'd down from Highland hills,
That rests his waves, after so rude a race,
In the fair plains of Gowrie—further Westward,
Proud Stirling rises—yonder to the East,
Dundee, the gift of God, and fair Montrose,
And still more Northward lie the ancient towers—
Woodhouse. Of Errell."

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

"Lindesi! fulgar inclyti Senatus,
Sol regni hujus regii et Senatus,
Qui divinique hominumque juris æqui
Norma, et regula veritatis alma es;
Phœbi et Palladis et novem sororum
Doctarum soboles, pater, patrona!"

ANDREW MELVILLE.

SECTION I.

WE have now arrived at a period when, under the influence of more steady legislation, of the love of letters, and of the more general diffusion of Christian principle, life began to be more domestic, more humanized; women, descending from the pedestals on which they had stood as idols to be worshipped, or ascending from the depth to which, by a worse reaction, they had been degraded, came to take their proper station in the household and society; familiar letters began to be exchanged between absent friends, and a parental solicitude for servants and dependents, requited by filial love and gratitude, to take the place of mere feudal reciprocity. In short, the happy system of civilization under which we now live, and for which we are indebted to that especial boon of God, the Reformation of the sixteenth century, had begun to work; and, though for many years frequent outbursts shewed that the old leaven was yet fermenting beneath the surface of society—though we find individuals, differing as

the antipodes in disposition and character, continually associated in what appears to us most unequal and unnatural friendship—and though the strangest contrasts constantly perplex us even in the characters of the same individuals—still the growth of that civilization, though retarded by many causes, has been clearly progressive ever since.

David of Edzell, ninth Earl of Crawford, died, as I before mentioned, in 1558, at his castle of Invermark in Forfarshire, bequeathing his soul "to the Omnipotent God and the whole Court of Heaven," and his body to be buried "in his own aisle within the church of Edzell," added by him to that edifice some years before.* One slight additional trait may be here added to his character, his paternal care over his servants and followers, thus, self-reproachfully, alluded to in a letter written many years afterwards by his son, John Lindsay of Balcarres, to his elder brother, of Edzell:—"My men is not meet for you, nor yours for me; for nane of us takes over meikle pains to bring them up as weill as our fader did." He left five sons, Sir David, his successor, and John, afterwards of Balcarres, the two eldest,—Sir Walter, of Balgawies, the third—a convert to Catholicism, and the most zealous and daring "confessor" of his time—the confirmer of Huntley, Errol, and Angus in the faith—keeping "open receipt" for Catholics in his castle of Balgawies, where mass was regularly performed by an English Jesuit, who was afterwards martyred in England—and whose profession, we are told, was notwithstanding attended with impunity, through "the devilish custom" of "deadly feid (feud) in Scotland," through which "none durst mell (meddle) with the said baron, by reason of his great friendship in the country and good fellows he held about him,"†—James, the fourth son, the Protestant rector of Fettercairn—a mild, learned, and accomplished divine, warmly attached to his brother

* Will, dated at Invermark, 20th of Sept. 1558. *Haigh Muniment-room.*—His first wife, Janet Gray, dying in 1549, bequeaths her body similarly to be buried "in... insulâ infra ecclesiam parochialem de Edzell, per dictum nobilem dominum, meum sponsum, novitèr constructâ." *Ibid.*

† See the 'Content of the Discourse made by Mr. Walter Lindsay of Balgays,' 1586, referred to *supra*, p. 312, and printed in the Appendix, No. XXX.—Sir Walter's castle of Balgawies was destroyed by King James in his Northern expedition, 1593. *Tytler*, tom. ix. p. 173.—He was afterwards, as will be seen, murdered by David Earl of Crawford.

John, and who died young, while on a mission to Geneva,*—and, lastly, Robert Lindsay of Balhall, the fifth, who lived and died a plain country gentleman in Angus. Earl David had two daughters also, Margaret and Elizabeth, the wives respectively of John Earl of Athol† and of Patrick, third Lord Drummond.‡ He bequeathed his children to the sole guardianship of his widow,

* He visited France, in the first instance, to seek relief from the stone, by which he was painfully afflicted. He says in a letter to his brother John, dated Paris [1579]:—"As concerning myself, please you wit, the 24th of this instant, August, I have ta'en my voyage from this town towards Geneva, being pressit thereto baith be sundry writings from the ministry in Scotland, as also be ane infinity of Scotsmen here, wha, ye knaw, are mony ways faidcous. By (besides) this, some sight of the country, with far greater commodity in my expenses, and the winter season being at hand, did haste me. I knaw ye will do in my matters as ane loving brother, wherever I be." He died at Geneva, the 15th of June, 1580, and an epitaph or elegy to his memory was written by the celebrated Andrew Melville, and may be found in the *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*, edit. 1637, p. 122, or (partly) in MacCrie's *Life of Melville*, tom. i. p. 426. The following are extracts from it:—

"Dum te magnus amor virtutis, et ætheris alti
Ignea ardor agit, patriam, fratresque, sororesque,
Et matrem lustratis luctantem in limine lati
Deseris;[a] Oceani fluctus, hyemesque ferocis,
Atque omnes terræ casus, cœlique ruinas
Ter frustra aggressus, ter retrò, O fata! repulsus,
Secure contemnis; et effugis Angloboritanas
Arva beata quidem, sed adhuc minus hospita, terras
Celtarum crudelis odium, crudelia tandem
Regna dolis Italorum atris; et sede recenti
Carnificum dirorum infamia,[b] Sequana qua se
Obliquat flexu vario . . . .
Jam Genevam, Genevam veræ pietatis alumnam,
Florentem studiis cœlestibus omine magno
Victor ovans subis; ac voti jam parte potitus,
Jam Bezæ dulci alloquio, &c. &c. . . .
. . . . Non jam tu urbes hominesque videre
Amplius, aut patriam rursus, carosque parentes,
Visere, vel fratres optas, diffocsque sorores . . .
At nobis relictum lætum exoptantibus, ultro
Tu, mi Iacobe! pelamque petens, patriamque perennem
Luctum, heu! lacrymasque . . . . . reliquis!
Te cano flevere Alpes, flevisque Lemanus
Illacrymare cano; vidus pater ipse Lemanus,
Et Rhodanus liquidis plectrum miscere sub undis."

† Then Lord Innermeath,—"head of a noted and lawful branch of the House of Stewart, created Earl of Athol in 1595, and by whom she had issue James Earl of Athol." *Crawford Case*, p. 177.

‡ "The head of that great House; from which connexion the Earls of Perth and Melfort (Dukes abroad), and the four first Dukes of Roxburgh, &c., were male descendants, besides a host of nobility in the female line." *Crawford Case*, p. 177.

[a] The Countess Catherine died Sept. 17, 1573.

[b] Allusive to the recent Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Dame Catherine Campbell, together with a third of the whole Crawford and Edzell estate as her "terce," or jointure. She is spoken of accordingly by the English envoy, Randolph, in 1564-5, as "the greatest marriage"—the richest heiress or dowered widow—"in Scotland." * But she preferred the memory of Earl David to any new alliance. She survived her husband for twenty years, sparing no pains or expense in the education of her children, and acting towards them, in all respects, the part of a most wise and judicious parent. She resided chiefly at Edzell, and occasionally at the Castle of Brechin, and in the Earl's Lodging, the ancient residence of the Earls of Crawford at Dundee.†

David and John, the two eldest sons, appear to have been born respectively in 1551 and 1552.‡ They were brought up at Edzell among their clansmen, and on reaching the fit age were sent to pursue their studies on the Continent under the care of Mr. James Lawson,§ afterwards the well-known colleague of John Knox in the ministry of Edinburgh,—"a man of singular learning, zeal, and eloquence," says Mr. James Melville, "whom I never heard preach but he meltit my heart with tears."‖ While to the epithets, "pious, learned, eloquent, modest, zealous, prudent," bestowed on him by Dr. MacCrie,¶ I can add my own testimony to his disinterestedness and integrity, as evinced in his correspondence with Lady Crawford during his superintendence of her sons' studies abroad.

* In a letter to Sir William Cecil, 20th of March, 1564-5, Keith's *Hist. Church*, tom. ii. p. 272.

† On her celebrated Northern progress, in 1562, Queen Mary honoured Edzell by her presence for one night, on the 25th of August. *Keith*, tom. ii. p. 157.—Imagination can easily picture the still young and blooming Countess, and her fair train of sons and daughters, receiving her at the great gates of the Castle. The Queen held a council that day at Edzell,—in all probability it took place in the pleasance or garden described *infra*, Sect. II., according to her constant habit of receiving ambassadors, and discussing affairs of state with her ministers and nobles, out of doors,—for which see Chalmers' *Life*, tom. i. p. 71.—The room she slept in at Edzell subsequently went by the name of the Queen's Chamber.

‡ *Crawford Case*, p. 217.

§ *Spotswood*, p. 333.

‖ *Memoirs*, p. 26.—He describes him elsewhere as "for gifts and estimation chief amongs the ministry," p. 146.

¶ *Life of And. Melville*, tom. i. p. 323.—"A man he was," says Archbishop Spotswood, "of good learning and judgment, of a pious and peaceable disposition, but carried too much with the idle rumours of the people." *Hist.*, p. 333.

Through this worthy man, and the patron who recommended him, the better principles of the Scottish Reformation descended in a direct line from the Lion King, Sir David Lindsay. You have already become acquainted with his last and most elaborate work, the 'Monarchie.' "Row," says Dr. MacCrie, speaking of Sir David's poems, "has preserved an anecdote which serves to illustrate their influence and the manner in which the reformed sentiments were propagated at that period. Some time between 1550 and 1558, a friar was preaching at Perth in the church where the scholars of Andrew Simson attended public worship. In the course of his sermon, after relating some of the miracles wrought at the shrines of the Saints, he began to inveigh bitterly against the Lutheran preachers, who were going about the country, and endeavouring to withdraw the people from the Catholic faith. When he was in the midst of his invective, a loud hissing arose in that part of the church where the boys, to the number of three hundred, were seated, so that the friar, abashed and affrighted, broke off his discourse and fled from the pulpit. A complaint having been made to the master, he instituted an enquiry into the cause of the disturbance, and, to his astonishment, found that it originated with the son of a craftsman in the town, who had a copy of Lindsay's 'Monarchie,' which he had read at intervals to his schoolfellows. When the master was about to administer severe chastisement to him, both for the tumult he had occasioned, and also for retaining in his possession such an heretical book, the boy very spiritedly replied that the book was not heretical, requested his master to read it, and professed his readiness to submit to punishment, provided any heresy was found in it.* This proposal appeared so reasonable to Simson, that he perused the work, which he had not formerly seen, and was convinced of the truth of the boy's statement. He accordingly made the best excuse which he could to the magistrates for the behaviour of his scholars, and advised the friar to abstain in future from extolling miracles and from abusing the Protestant preachers. From that time Simson was friendly to the Reformation."†—On the esta-

* This supports my view of Sir David's religious creed and character as a Reformer. Neither John Knox, nor Lawson, nor any of the later Protestant divines would have thus judged it.

† *Life of Knox*, p. 398; Row's *Hist. of the Kirk*, p. 8.—Row adds this anecdote, in sequence to the passage quoted *supra*, p. 220.

blishment of the Kirk of Scotland, he became one of its ministers; he was a learned man and an author, and many of his pupils highly distinguished themselves in after life. Of these James Lawson was one; Simson, being much struck with the talent and avidity for learning which he displayed as a poor boy, took him to his own home, gave him an excellent education, and afterwards recommended him to Lady Crawford.* Through this spiritual genealogy, therefore, Sir David may, in some sort, be reckoned as an ancestor of the Houses of Edzell and Balcarres.

The expedition of Mr. Lawson and his pupils was, however, less fortunate than had been expected, as appears from the letters of the worthy "governor." The first is addressed to Mr. David Borthuik of Lochhill, Lord Advocate, the friend and legal adviser of Lady Crawford, to whom he sent it after perusal. They had a stormy voyage to Dieppe, where they were hospitably welcomed by a Scottish merchant, Mr. William Aikman, who sent up with them to Paris, "to convoy us, Matthew Aikman," probably his son or nephew, "ane guid young man, who did us great pleasure, and wald receive na recompense of us, albeit we offerit [it] instantly (pressingly) and honestly." Previously, however, to quitting Dieppe, "we visitit my Lord Duke's Grace," at the Château d'Arques, "and was honourably and gladly entreatit of him, who speirit at (enquired of) David the whole maner of your worship's house, the number of male and female, the weill-fare of his guiddame (grandmother), sindry times," and "efter we had dinit, he causit us to be honourably convoyit (escorted) again to Dieppe to our supper."† They took up their quarters at Paris‡ in the "rue of Carmes, near the College of Rheims,

* MacCrie's *Life of Melville*, tom. i. p. 323.

† I do not know who this Duke was.

‡ Mr. Lawson's statement of expenses illustrates the rate of travelling in those days in France:—"We come to Paris the xiii day of April; the expences betwix Dieppe and Paris was very large,—at meldrift (meal-time) every man was at moon whiles (sometimes) x, and whiles ix sous,—at even man and horse xv whites,* and sometimes xvi sous. Our horse hire was xiii crowns. The boat from the raid (road) to Dieppe, convoying of clothes, and expences in Dieppe, was v crowns.... So that or (before) we came to Paris, l crowns were spendit, and more."—In Paris, "Mr. John Menteith had preparit for us, before our coming, ane lodging wherein we have two chalmers, four studies, and other easements" ("ayslaments," or accommodations) "at will. The burden (rent) is in the year lvi crowns," &c.

* "White-money, silver pieces. A Scandinavian idiom,—*Suio-Gothic*, hwita penningar, silver money." *Jamieson.*

at the sign of the Bowl, not far from the place where the King's Lectors reads, standand conveniently near to all the Colleges,"—and for a short while all was propitious. But Mr. Lawson's second letter, addressed to Lady Crawford, must have surprised her, being dated from London. Troubles had broken out between the Catholics and Huguenots, and they had been obliged to fly from Paris at a moment's warning, leaving their books behind them, and saving nothing but the clothes on their backs. They took refuge at Dieppe, where they "abode for ane space, looking for some peace and aggreance between the King and the Prince" de Condé.—But ultimately, adds Mr. Lawson, we were "constrained also to leave Dieppe, for the Captain of the Castle of Dieppe convenit with M. Ramelerie, Vice-Admiral of Normandy, who quietly brought in the castle four hundred men of weir (war), who, after three combats, raising of fire in the town, and slaughter, obtainit victory and tuik the town. In the beginning of the assault the ports (gates) were halden close, that we could not get furth, yet we purchasit (obtained) the means to pass furth in the road (harbour) be ship, and remainit there ane space to behald the end of the matter, bot we saw nothing but spoiling and slaughter, and therefore were compellit to pass over to England." They rode to London, and from thence proposed, when the letter was written, to "pass to the University of Cambridge," to remain there till peace should admit of their return to Paris, or till they should receive further instructions from Lady Crawford. "These troubles," adds Mr. Lawson, feelingly, "make me to be tirit and weary of my office. Some part easy it is to be ane pedagogue in peace, but in sic times I have found be experience what solicitude it makes."

He proceeds to touch upon the character of his pupils, with due discrimination. "I think it were not the warst to send for David, for, to speak the truth, I find him not so obedient to my counsel as I wald wish, and therefore I desire rather to be exonerate nor (than) to admonish in vain. I will not dissimile, but I rather will shew the truth, that your Ladyship have no occasion to accuse me. I counsel, I exhort, privately and openly, and albeit I profit something, yet not so meikle as I wald wish.—John is able to come to great understanding of letters, and gives him wholly for the same, and therefore guid it were that he continue it. Letters"

(he adds) "may be learnit here" (that is, at Cambridge), "near als weill as in Paris, and we hope that Paris shall be at rest hastily, for now the Prince has set his whole force aganes the town, he sieges the same and the fauxbourgs,* and guid hope there is of his victory, or else that the mattes shall come to aggreance."

A later letter from Cambridge informs Lady Crawford, that "our being this space in England has not been unprofitable, for by (besides) that we have seen the fashions of the country, the order of the University, and manner of the schools, we have also not put off time in vain towards our study in guid letters." Their expenses, he says, had been considerable, owing to their many journeys, the loss of their books and clothes, and the necessity of buying new ones,—but, he adds, "your ladyship's three hundred crowns will serve more nor (than) ane year. It would have servit far longer, if troubles had not ensewit. Our time" (he concludes) "has been troublesome, but God has preservit us in our dangers, (praisit be He therefore!) and so the loss of gear (property) is less to be regardit." †

I cannot give such minute details respecting the subsequent education of the two brothers. David, I believe, soon afterwards returned to Scotland,—but the sum of two thousand pounds is stated in a legal paper, dated 1572, to have been spent by his mother upon her son, "Maister John Lindsay," in "entertaining and upbringing him at the schools in Scotland, England, and divers times in France," ‡ so that I conclude he returned to Paris as soon as circumstances permitted. §

After the return of her eldest son, Lady Crawford bought his marriage from the Crown, and gave it to him, and he took to wife

* Faubris, *orig.* † Letters, *Haigh Muniment-room.*

‡ Contract between the Countess of Crawford and Mr. John Lindsay, &c. *Haigh Muniment-room.*

§ "After his return to his native country," says MacCrie, Mr. Lawson "testified his gratitude by the zeal with which he uniformly promoted public education; and his exertions in restoring the High School, and erecting the University of Edinburgh, entitle his name to a place among the distinguished benefactors of literature." *Life of And. Melville*, tom. i. p. 324.—Lawson's appointment, in December, 1568, to the office of "pedagogue in University Street," determines the period of his visit to Paris with Lady Crawford's sons to anterior to that date. Lawson was afterwards Principal of Old College, Aberdeen, and preached at Edinburgh for twelve years. *Spotswood*, p. 335.—I have mentioned his death *supra*, p. 308.

Lady Helen Lindsay, sister of Lord Crawford, "without any tocher," or fortune, as mentioned in a preceding page.* She bore him two sons and four daughters, but died young, in 1579, and he subsequently married Dame Isabel Forbes, granddaughter of John the sixth Lord Forbes, and widow of Innes of Cromie, ancestor of the later Dukes of Roxburgh,—a woman older than himself, but most excellent and amiable, whom he loved with deep affection, and who survived him, but without leaving any issue.

John Lindsay, in the mean while, had been provided for in a manner of universal usage in those days, but certainly most reprehensible, and even sacrilegious—by the revenues of the rectories of Memmuir, Lethnot, and Lochlee, in Angus, livings in the gift of the Edzell family,† and from the former of which, like other laymen similarly circumstanced, he took the style, familiar to every Scottish antiquary, of Parson of Memmuir.‡ He had also the tiends, or tithes, of certain parishes,§ and a pension of two hundred pounds annually out of the bishopric of St. Andrews,‖ and the small estate of Drumcairn, in Angus, was settled upon

* *Supra*, p. 203.—On the family resuming into simple Lairds of Edzell, Sir David resumed the star in the centre of his shield, the mark of difference originally assumed by Walter of Beaufort,—as appears from his seal attached to various charters in the Haigh Muniment-room. This difference was not however rigidly adhered to, and the Edzell family frequently bore the simple arms of Crawford,—though without the supporters, till they became chiefs of the clan.

† Settled upon him while yet a child, by charters in the Haigh Muniment-room.

‡ "After the Reformation in Scotland, and complete abolition of Papacy, in 1560, the nobility and barons stepped into the possessions of the Romish clergy, and thereby aliment'd and provided their offspring; from whence it happened that the latter, having secured the temporalities even of abbeys, priories, and bishoprics, . . were, although laics, and occasionally mere stripplings or infants, styled Abbots, Priors, and Bishops,—besides innumerable instances of their figuring as Parsons and Rectors after the fashion of Mr. John Lindsay. This was moreover advantageous to the former, as, in right of such tithes and possessions, they claimed a seat and vote in Parliament, like their predecessors before the Reformation." *Crawford Case*, p. 215.—Mr. Riddell cites, in illustration of the above, the case of "Walter, Prior of Blantyre," the first Lord-Blantyre, a lair, and that of Robert Stuart, Earl of Lennox, "who obtained the patrimony of the Bishopric of Caithness in his youth, and who, as Keith observes, 'never' took 'priest's orders,' and yet was described, in a solemn religious commission, 'as a 'Reverend Father in God, Robert Bishop of Caithness,'" (*Crawford Case*, p. 215,)—"an audacity," observes the 'Quarterly Review,' "from which a late royal and gallant Bishop of Osnaburgh would have shrunk." *Q. R.*, xxxi. lxxvii. p. 474.

§ Contract, 21 Sept. 1555, *Haigh Muniment-room*.

‖ By writ under the Privy Seal, 11 July, 1576.

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